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FAIRIES AND WITCHES AT THE
BOUNDARY OF SOUTH-EASTERN
AND CENTRAL EUROPE

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present paper is to examine the fairy-like beings and the remains of the cult connected with them on the Balkan Peninsula. The remains of fairy beliefs preserving elements of various archaic mythologies and traces of a fairy cult both survived in Hungarian folk-belief mostly after being integrated into the belief system of witchcraft. From this comes the second – though less detailed – subject of this paper: to show the connections between the witches in Hungarian folk-belief and the fairies chiefly in the Southern-Slavic and Rumanian territories of the Balkans. These S Slavic-Hungarian and Rumanian-Hungarian connections also show us the process by which mythical beings were transformed into human beings and “demonic” characteristics became attributes of the “human witch”. On the basis of these contacts we can also examine, together with their geographical aspects, how the archaic belief systems preceding the appearance of witchcraft were gradually integrated into witchcraft. The fairies of the Balkanic peoples were important antecedents of the supernatural character, of the “demonic side” of the S Slavic and – indirectly – of the Hungarian witches, too. Accordingly, closer study of fairies might also help us to answer the questions surrounding witch beliefs not only in Hungary but – due to the special geographical location of the Hungarian language territory – in a fairly wide Central and SE European area.¹

As regards the south-eastern neighbours of the Hungarians (apart from Croatia and Slovenia), not only was institutional witch-persecution unknown (among the Orthodox Rumanians, Serbs and Bulgarians) or far less intensive than in Central Europe (including Hungary); witchcraft as a *popular institution* was also less characteristic, its integrating influence was less dominating than in Central Europe. Witchcraft never became a central belief system in the Orthodox, eastern territories of the Balkans, and that is why elements of archaic belief systems preceding the appearance of witchcraft could remain. Of course, there are differences both in degree and in territorial distribution, from the demonic beings who lost their original function in the shadow of the Croato-Slovene witch, who was closely linked to the witches of the Hungarian folk belief and survived merely as a figure in belief legends, up to the more vivid demon world of the Orthodox territories, where the role of the witch is much less important.

The Hungarian folk belief system is rather suitable for studying the process by which witchcraft became a central belief system. The ideology

of institutional witch-persecution had relatively little influence on transforming the popular belief system completely and making the integrated “pre-witchcraft” beliefs disappear.

The scholars examining the figure of the Hungarian witch agree that this is an alloy of an incubus-like demon and of a wizard, who was a real and active member of early medieval society.² Whenever and wherever witchcraft as a social institution appeared, the role of witch was primarily assumed by those who dealt with black magic, and all evils were attributed to their “bewitching” activity – if indeed there were any black magicians. On the other hand, a well-known process took place all over Europe, by which the everyday methods surrounding the specialists in white magic – and the “white magicians” themselves – became integrated into witchcraft.³ In the present paper I deal only with the “wizard features” of the Hungarian witch that can be related to the fairy cult in the Balkans; the main point of my examination being to show that many “demonic” features of the Hungarian witch figure originated from different fairy beliefs. It was typical of witch beliefs all over Europe that the characteristics of the “pre-witchcraft” demonic beings were attributed to the “real”, human witches. When it came to interpreting the harm done to man, the human witch became the primary factor; this witch was endowed with the characteristics of destructive demons, traditional in the given territory – the only necessary condition being a belief in the latter’s capacity for transfiguration. As the human witch was considered a malevolent magician with supernatural power, the above condition has prevailed ever since witches first existed in this sense of the word. The demonic side of the Hungarian witch is very rich and has obviously absorbed various characteristics originating from different mythical beings. One of these is the fairy, as will be discussed below.

Hungarian folk belief has a figure known as a *szépasszony* (“beautiful woman”), who shows many similarities with the South-Slavic and Rumanian fairies, as will be shown in this study. The secondary character of such *szépasszony* beliefs compared with our language neighbours’ more authentic and more important fairies is obvious. Even the geographical permeation of these beliefs proves their close South-Slavic and Rumanian connections.⁴

One of the key questions of the fairy–witch relations is how the “malevolent side” of the fairies ambivalent towards man integrated into the figure of the witch. While fairies gave a supernatural explanation for the evils striking man, after their integration into the institution of witchcraft any unexpected misfortunes were associated with a human being having supernatural power; everyday life was no longer regulated by a supernatural standard system, but by the rules of human coexistence, and supernatural punishment gave place to human malevolence. This process does, of course, have two different sides: the obsolete character of the supernatural explanation for the evils striking man and the lost functions of malevolent demons in popular belief systems induced a process by which human beings and witches appeared.

As Filipović shows in his brief account of the fairy beliefs of the peoples

in the Balkan States, there is an important difference between the fairy beliefs of the eastern and western regions of the Balkans.⁵ In the Croatian and Slovene beliefs the “malevolent” aspect of fairies’ ambivalent relations to man to a large extent integrated with the figure of the witch, while beliefs that refer to fairies’ benevolence survived only as motifs in belief legends. On the other hand, in the Serbo-Croatian, Albanian and Bulgarian heroic epic their positive character is expressed more definitely than in the case of the fairies described in the folk beliefs of the same area.⁶ However, the positive fairy world of the heroic epic naturally intertwined to a certain extent with fairy beliefs. At the same time, in the peasant world-concept of the eastern territories – chiefly in Rumanian folk belief – the explanation for misfortunes and the regulation of behaviour patterns have mostly been based on this fairy world up to the present. Although the witch here also absorbed certain features of the fairy (besides other demonic beings), fairies survived independently of the figure of the human witch – as basically malevolent supernatural beings, and preserved their “good” aspect only to a lesser extent. Certain vestiges of the fairies’ “fertility-goddess” features could also be found in the eastern territories of the Balkans.

The Hungarian *szépasszony* of the modern age is actually a variation of the Balkan fairy with a rather strong witch character. But she does not always become a human witch: in many cases her demonic origin (and “fairy” appearance) is clearly preserved. It would be hard to decide from our present data whether this “*witchization*” (i.e. the process when the witch-like features become dominant within the character) took place within the Hungarian belief system or whether we “acquired” from our neighbours a creature who was already in a transitory stage between demon and man. Anyway, in the modern age this transitory stage is more or less similar to that of the Croato-Slovene fairy, except that the fertility-bringing aspect of the *szépasszony* is even less characteristic than in the latter case or in any other part of the Balkans.

These demonic ancestors of the SE European witch have become integrated into the witch system to a varying extent (territorially) and at different times. However, the present study leaves aside these time-and-area variations and examines the transition in ipso only – i.e. the different aspects of the process by which the fairy becomes a witch.

Another aspect of the fairy–witch relations dealt with is the partial integration of the remains of the fairy cult and mythology – the once positive side of the Balkan fairy – into witchcraft. This archaic cult, which can be deduced from today’s beliefs, contributed greatly – not in ipso, but more or less intertwined with the “fertility cult” related to the quasi-shamanistic wizards studied by Ginzburg and later by Klaniczay⁷ – to the *folkloristic* bases of the concept of the Witches’ Sabbath of official demonology. Not in the Central or West European sense of the word: i.e. in this case it was not folklore which influenced the Sabbath concept,⁸ but there were folklore traditions suitable for absorbing those Sabbath stereotypes which had come from the West at a relatively late period. These witch beliefs (e.g. about witches who come to the Witches’ Sabbath

either transformed into an animal or riding an animal and about earthly and other-worldly pageants, flights, initiation rites and sacrifices) and text stereotypes that can also be understood from the “clearly” remaining fairy cult and fairy beliefs, and that clearly show their fairy origin, may have served as a framework for the Sabbath and devil-pact conception and text stereotypes of the official witch ideology. We cannot deal here with the complicated relations between the “popular bases” and the official ideology; instead we will examine only a supposed previous stage: the connection between cults and rites preceding the appearance of witchcraft with posterior witch beliefs. We must emphasize *beliefs*: there is no evidence of the assumption of Murray and his followers (especially Runeberg, as far as the fairy cult is concerned),⁹ who say that these archaic rites were the roots of later and *really existing* witch companies and rites.

It was Ginzburg who, with his rich documentation, first proved the integration of “pre-witchcraft” fertility rites into the institution of witchcraft by examining the rites of the North Italian *benandanti*, who were born with a caul and had shamanistic features. Ginzburg demonstrated that in the given territory witchcraft was – at least partially – a “deformation of agrarian cult”.¹⁰ Klaniczay drew quite similar consequences from the exploration of the process of how the *benandante*-like NW Balkan wizards, the Slovene-Croatian *kresnik* and *zduhač*, who were also born with a caul, had shamanistic power and had to fight other-world battles for their community’s fertility, became integrated into the system of witchcraft.¹¹ Eliade, partly on the basis of certain elements of witch beliefs – those which refer to shamanistic soul journeys and other-world battles – and partly just on the basis of the Rumanian fairy cult, called attention to cults existing before the appearance of witchcraft. Both the “other-world” witch battles and the “real” fertility battles performed by the *călușari*, the “initiated” of the Rumanian fairy queen (*Doamna Zînelor*: “fairy lady”), who had the characteristics of a chthonic goddess, are morphological parallels to the other-world battles of the afore-mentioned shamanistic wizards.¹² The names of the Rumanian and Albanian fairies come from the Roman *Diana*, whose figure also contains certain elements of the Thracian-Greek Artemis.¹³ Late Roman sources and the witch charges of the Middle Ages refer to Diana as “the leader of witches” whose “infernal assemblies” are visited by women accused of witchcraft and arriving there at night, riding different animals.¹⁴ Eliade regards the Rumanian remains of the fairy cult and the cult of a supposed fertility goddess who inherited the name of Diana as the mythical and ritual antecedents of witch companies and Sabbath beliefs. Henningsen examined the rich material of 16th and 17th century Sicilian “fairy trials” conducted by the Spanish inquisition. He regards the different beliefs and the cult of fairies (*donas de fuera*: “the ladies from outside”), the experiences of fairy magicians in dream or in trance, their curing and sacrificial rites as especially archaic forms of witch beliefs which, supplemented by further investigations in Italy, may provide the key to the origin of the “diabolised Sabbath”.¹⁵

The two systems – the shamanistic wizards' rites of Northern Italy and of the NW Balkan region on the one hand, and the Sicilian and Balkan fairy cults on the other – serving as the folkloristic antecedents of the institution of witchcraft and of demology – are not independent of each other, though their connection seems to be no more than a secondary amalgamation of the mythologies and ritual systems of different origins. At least that is my opinion on the basis of the material known to me. Ginzburg has already referred to this connection and duality.¹⁶ From those *benandanti*, who at the beginning of the agricultural cycle fight other-world battles for the fertility of their communities, he distinguished another type of *benandanti*, who join the procession of the “unbaptized”, or the dead led by the goddess-like figures of the Alps called *Perchta*, *Holda* etc.¹⁷ In other cases the “second type” *benandanti* are taken away to the assemblies of the above figures. These – usually female – *benandanti*, as initiates of the goddesses, regularly take part in other-world journeys. They function as *seers* who relate their other-world experiences. From their journeys the element of battle – so characteristic of the “fertility magicians” – is missing, while, on the other hand, this latter type is not protected by fertility goddess-like mythical beings. These two types – one representing “fertility”, the other “death” – may coincide (e.g. in the cult of the Swiss *Frau Saelde/Frau Zälti*); the differences between the two types may, according to Ginzburg, lead us back to the German tradition of the *Perchtas* and *Wildes Heer/Wilde Jagd* and the Slavic traditions of the shamanistic battles of wizards born with a caul. (Ginzburg also classifies the shamanistic fight described in a 17th century Livland werewolf trial and closely paralleling the other-world fights of the *benandanti* as a tradition of Slavic origin.) He assumes the intertwining of the two lines in the West-Balkan region, too, from data when the *kresniks* and other wizards are initiated by the Sloveno-Croatian fairies (the *vile*) and learn to cure from them.¹⁸ As we shall see later, the Balkan fairies really have certain chthonic goddess-like features, characteristic of *Holda/Frau Saelde*.¹⁹ However, their mediators were originally *not* those shamanistic wizards widely known in the Balkans who travel to the other world to fight, but the healers who are initiated during a soul journey in the other world (the element of battle is missing) and the caul has nothing to do with their faculty. In the 16th and 17th century Sicilian documents (published by Henningsen) we find this connection – considered to be genuine – between fairies and their initiated wizards in a form very similar to that of the Balkans: wizards with the faculty of healing – who are the initiates of the fairy queen – take part in sacrificial feasts during their regular nocturnal soul journeys. Music and dance play a big role both in their other-world and their worldly healing rites.²⁰ As a consequence of the contamination of different belief systems and mythologies, the two wizard types are at some points very close to each other but, as we shall see later, they are not identical.

FAIRIES

The most important common features of the Balkan fairies are:²¹ they are demonic or goddess-like beings who appear periodically (mainly in the spring and early summer festive periods) among people and have harmful, trouble-making, illness-bringing aspects linked with death, but, on the other hand they have fertility preserving/providing features, too. And at the same time they are nature spirits (nymphs) with a "fairy" appearance, taking the shape of charmingly beautiful, flying, appearing, disappearing, dancing, singing women, coming into sight in groups at various places in the countryside, or among clouds in a storm or in a whirlwind. They preserve diverse heritages: a heterogeneous combination of features related to various beings of disintegrated religious systems. Actually, it is the combination of the death/fertility goddess and nature spirit/nymph features which particularly characterizes the Balkan fairies. Considering this combination of characteristics – and in spite of the different traditions – we may rightly speak about a relatively homogeneous fairy world on the Balkan peninsula, whose divergent roots were presumably also unified by those common Thraco-Illyrian and Graeco-Roman traditions that survived more or less over the whole territory.

However, the bases were different: several elements can be traced back to other territories, and a relationship can be found with the belief systems of neighbouring peoples or of common origin. Such are, in the first place, the common traditions with the fairies of the W and E Slavic peoples. Other features show a relationship with the Slovene-Austrian-Swiss-South-German beliefs of the Alps (the Slovene-Austrian fairies called *Seligen/Zalik Zene*,²² the *Wilde Leute*, *Wilde Frau* -kind nature spirits²³ and, in particular, the *Perchta-Holda* and *Wildes Heer* traditions). The importance of these latter connections is emphasized by Liungman, who made a brief but comprehensive summary of the Balkan fairy world²⁴ (though he had fairly rich data – due to Lawson²⁵ – only on Greek fairies). Describing a course of development, he dealt with the Magna Mater-kind goddesses of Crete and Phrygia, the Artemis of Asia Minor and Greece, the Diana/Artemis of Asia Minor and Thrace, the Moiras (integrated into the former), Nemesis/Fortuna, the role that the late-antique and medieval "Diana-cult" played in the appearance of witchcraft, the Perchta traditions of the Alps and – as intermediate links – the Balkan fairies. According to Liungman, the Illyrians conveyed the Thracian-Greek-Roman traditions of the Balkans to the SE Alps where, mixed with German traditions, a special, local *Perchta* rite and belief system could develop. Of course, this "line of development" in ipso is not enough to explain all the common features of the Central and the SE European

demonic beings. We may also stress the common features of the Slavic and the Central European German (or even Scandinavian) traditions that can perhaps be regarded as *common Indo-European* remains, and, on the basis of striking similarities between the Scottish-Irish and the SE and Central European fairy beliefs²⁶ or the common features of the *Bonnes Dames* and the *Abundia and Satia* traditions (related to the Gallic *Matronae* cult),²⁷ the question of *Celtic* heritage may also arise. Anyway, it would be premature to explore all the sources of the complex fairy tradition, partly because we should know much more about the traditions of the Eastern-Slavic, Baltic, Turkish and Caucasian (or rather, the general E-European) death/fertility gods, werewolves, werewolf magicians and demonic werewolves, animal ancestors and other kinds of guardian spirits, storm-demon dragons which – particularly in the East – mixed with the Balkan fairy beliefs to a large extent. Some of these elements, pointing towards the East, may indicate Turkish/Iranian connections, the detailed analysis of which needs further research.

Nevertheless, the fairies' relationship and/or their secondary contamination with the other demonic beings of the Balkans is an important fact. Such beings are the "infernal", "black", "winter" demons who appear mostly around the winter solstice and in other "dark" periods of the year (e.g. at new moon) and who, more or less, do not have the positive aspects of fairies: the "unbaptized", the demonic werewolves, i.e. the wolf, horse, etc. demons and the "evil" guardian spirits. Beside the death aspect, fairies are related to these beings through several other, originally common or similar features, too.

The above fact suggests that the homogeneity of the Balkan fairies' "unified" nymph figure is rather a secondary homogeneity and the fairy beliefs have several archaic, "prefairy" features as well. Both the zoomorphic fairies, who are related to the archaic animal figures of the "returning" dead/ancestors, to the animal-figure guardian spirits and to the dragon-snake storm demons, and the fairies who have a common origin with or can hardly be distinguished from the storm demons and the souls proceeding in the wind, represent a level of fairy beliefs similar to that of the souls of the dead/the ancestors, i.e. they are the progenitors of the nymph fairies as far as the death cult is concerned. The resemblance of the ancestors before the appearance of the nymph fairy refers to chthonic gods, of which Artemis/Diana (also preversed in the fairies' names) is probably only one. Other ancient Thraco-Greek ancestors like Hekate and Dionysos belong to the same category. Here we once again refer to the presumed Turkish/Iranian/Caucasian traditions that need further study, and also to the Baltic traditions having numerous similarities but not dealt with in the present paper.

The fairies of the various Balcanic peoples are partly called by the same names, while they partly have individual names, varying by territory or by people. The Serbo-Croatian (and, partly, the Slovene) fairy is called *vila* (plural: *vile*) which was the name used by the Western and – a few centuries ago – by the Eastern Slavic peoples as well. Scholars from the Slavic countries all say that the word is of Indo-European origin and

means “wind”, “whirlwind”, referring to an important feature of the Balkan fairies, to their appearance in a storm or a whirlwind.²⁸ The most popular name for fairies in Bulgarian folk belief is *samovila/samodiva*.²⁹ In E Serbia and in Romania the fairies who appear at Whitsuntide – in Rusalia Week – are called *rusalkas*, a word borrowed from the Russians and the Ukrainians.³⁰ As we have formerly mentioned, the Rumanian *zîna* and the Albanian *zâna/zëra/zina* terms all refer to Diana.³¹ The Romanian *Irodia*, *Irodita*, *Irodiada* and the Croatian *Irudica*, *Rudica* fairy names can all be traced back to the name of *Herodias*, who received a similar role to Diana in the medieval witch charges.³² Beside these, the Greek *nereids* (*neraides*) have preserved their original name since classical antiquity, though the original meaning, “sea nix”, later included *all* fairy-like beings.

In the eastern region of the Balkans – chiefly in Rumania – it was quite common to use taboo names instead of the original ones. The names most often used by the Rumanians are *iele* (“they”)³³ and *dînsele* (“they themselves”), but we could quote a great number of other “positive”, “flattering” taboo names used in different regions, e.g.: *doamnele* (“the young ladies”), *dulcile* (“the sweet ones”), *frumoasele* (“the nice ones”), etc.³⁴ The *vile* (mainly in Serbia) are also called *divna* (“the divine”), while the taboo names of the *nereids* are “the ladies”, “the happy”, “the young ladies” and “those from outside”. The Albanians use “the white”, “the happy”, “the happy creatures of the night”. The Rumanians also gave female names to their fairies; in Transylvania and in the Banat each of the nine fairies who together form a group has an individual name.³⁵

Nature spirits and nymphs

Balkan fairies are imagined as prodigies of beauty, as groups of girls (the Rumanians speak about groups of odd numbers from 3 to 11). They wear their long, blond hair let down (according to Rumanian and Bulgarian beliefs they may also have chaplets, wreaths and small bells on their legs). They are dressed in white clothes or they are naked either to the waist or from top to toe, covering their bodies only with their hair. The S Slavic – and, according to certain data, the Rumanian – fairies may also have wings. While they are flying and floating in the air from one hill to another, they alight on the hilltops or treetops and on the earth, they dance in a circle with light, skipping steps, hardly touching the ground. Their enchanting voice sounds from afar. They often accompany their songs and dances with their own music, or they dance to the music of “carried-away” musicians.

With the exception of “evil” fairies, a close connection with forests, meadows and wild flowers is characteristic of the fairy world. They proceed, fly and dance above and under the trees (oaks, walnuts, maples and rose trees), among the foliage, in forest glades and on little paths.

On their feasts – according to Rumanian and Bulgarian data – they eat flowers; both the Rumanian and the Bulgarian fairies have their own favourite plants, which they use as their emblems. According to one Serbian belief, the *vile* are born by fairy mothers inseminated with dew, or they develop from plants. *Flower fairies* born in flowers and even those who “foster or fade” flowers are also known in Rumanian folk beliefs.³⁶

The dwelling place of the water fairies (*brodnica samodiva*, *podovna/jezerkinja/brodarica vila*, *zîna apeî*, etc.) is a lake or the bank of a brook, a spring or the water of a brook; on moonlight nights they bathe at such places, and the *samodiva* bathes her child here. They often drink from the water of the springs or of a well which is often called “the well of the fairies”. The Bulgarians and the Greeks also speak about “*sea samodivas*” and “*sea nereids*”. The mountain fairies (*zagorkinja/planinkinja vila*, and *pozemne vila*, the Bulgarian *samogorska*, *gorska*, *gorska diva/samovila*) live on hills or on mountain tops, on rocks, in caves, or in valleys (sometimes in ditches or even in holes in the ground).

Scholars usually relate the nature spirit/nymph features of the Balkan fairies to the figure of the “dancing Artemis” and the nymphs who follow her dancing in the moonlight.³⁷ Not only in the Greek, but in the whole material of the Balkanic peoples we can clearly define the characteristics which refer to water/spring nymphs (*nereids*, *naiads*), wood/tree-nymphs (*dryads*) and mountain nymphs (*oreads*). Both Lawson and Liungman consider the Greek image of “the fairy queen and her company” as the heritage of “Artemis and her nymphs”.³⁸ The Rumanian equivalent of the beautiful but cruel Greek fairy queen called “the great lady”, “the beautiful lady”, “the most beautiful woman”, “the queen of the mountains”, or “the queen of the shore”, is the “fairy lady” (*Doamna Zînelor*) who is the leader of her 7- or 9-member fairy group; similar queen-led “troops” of fairies are known in Serbian folk belief, too. The figures of the *vile*, the *samodivi* and the *nereids*, who ride white horses or deer and hunt with arrows, are connected with the hunting Artemis/Diana.

The Thraco-Greek derivation is nevertheless rather one-sided. As Zečević says, beliefs in mountain, forest and water spirits/nymphs were already known by the Slavic people who arrived on the Balkan peninsula. (This assumption is reinforced by the relatively early data from the 6th–12th centuries that – presumably not influenced by antique nymph beliefs – refer to Slavic “water fairies”).³⁹

Beside the nymph fairies, *zoomorphic* beings are also known by almost all the Balkan peoples. In contrast to the Rumanian *iele*’s exclusively human figure, the Serbo-Croatian *vile* may be “women upside and animals below”, or they have the legs or hoofs of a horse, mule, donkey, goat, deer, hind, ox, or cow. Their ability for transfiguration is also very characteristic: they can assume the figures of a falcon, a wild goose, a crow, a pig, a wolf or a snake. The most usual is the transformation of a woman figure into a bird, and vice versa, e.g. the women flying in flocks settle on the trees and are transformed into crows or wild geese.

Even their human appearance may have some bird requisites: they may have feathers or wings or they may behave like animals: e.g. "her footstep is as powerful as that of a mare" (the Croatians of the Drava area). Goat and donkey legs are also known as characteristics of the *nereids*. The different horse, pig and goat figures, the centaur-like fairies, the *vila* who appears in the form of a snake; the Serbo-Croatian *vile's ability to change their appearance* is – beside the supposed antique traditions – in close connection with the werewolf beliefs, the horse, pig, goat, wild-hog and snake-form variants of the werewolf as well as with the animal (mostly snake) figure of the guardian spirits.

The storm demons, the "unbaptized" and the dead

One main characteristic of the fairies' under study is their appearance in a *wind* or in a *whirlwind*. They live "up in the sky", they direct the clouds, their flight is accompanied by eddies, they make whirlwinds, or their dance is the whirlwind itself. The names of the iele *vîntoasele* ("whirlwind"), "the sovereigns of the air" and "the falcons" as well as the Serbo-Croatian term for whirlwind "the dance of the vile" all refer to this. But, in the whole area, there exists a "fairy subtype" which owns either to a greater extent or exclusively the characteristics of the storm demon. Such are the weather *vile* (*vile oblakinje*, *zracke vile*), who bring bad weather and devastate the fields with hail. Certain meteorological phenomena are also explained by their activities (e.g. if the sun is shining while it is raining, it means that the *oblakinje vile* are combing their hair). There is also an evil *vila* figure who rides on black storm clouds and brings bad weather (alone, and not in dancing groups). Her appearance is accompanied by lightning and hail. In Dalmatia these dangerous demons have individual names: *Rudica*, *Irudica*, *Poganica*.⁴⁰ The Bulgarian *juda* (plural: *judi*) and the Rumanian *rusali* who appear in *Rusalia* Week before Whitsuntide are similarly malevolent and also bring storm and hail. In contrast to the fair *iele*, they are described as ugly, stoop-shouldered old women (just like the afore-mentioned *iele* called *vîntoasele*). Anyway, the ugly appearance is usually associated with these more or less storm demon-like beings.

The storm-demonic features of fairies were strongly influenced by different kinds of storm demons and other mythical beings having storm demon-like characteristics; such are those dead people who, after a "bad" death, are transformed into demons and proceed in the air and on the clouds. We may here mention the beliefs of the "unbaptized" that are well-known on the whole Balkan peninsula and that can be regarded as one of the "ancestors" of the Balkan fairies, as well as the *dragon* images of the East Serbian-Bulgarian-Rumanian territories. The "unbaptized" have intermingled with the fairies to such an extent that the latter differ only in their nymph-like exterior and in their afore-mentioned periodical

appearance. According to Dalmatian data, e.g., the “evil vile” who bring storm and hail are “unbaptized”, they are the “accursed troop of Herodias”.⁴¹ The “unbaptized” (the Croatian *nekrstenci*, the Rumanian *moroi*, the Slovene, Macedonian, Bulgarian *nav*, *navi*, etc.) are actually the souls of those who died in an unusual way: they were killed, committed suicide or were unbaptized children. Their typical period is usually between Christmas and Twelfth Night (called “unbaptized days/week”) and the time of the new moon: i.e. the dark periods of the solar year and the lunar month. They appear in the forms of birds, birds with a child’s head, little black children, dogs, cats, mice, chickens, whirlwinds, wind storms, or fire, or other luminous phenomena. They bring storm and hail and cause damage to man, to his animals, his household, his crops and vehicles. Beside all these, there are nightmarish demons bringing illness or death to the living, “taking away” the people. They are particularly dangerous to women in labour and in childbed, to unbaptized children and to the old.⁴² Similar beings are the demons called “shadows” who develop from the malevolent souls of the dead and appear as dogs, donkeys, goats, etc. (the Greek *iskios*, the Serbian *osenja*, the Rumanian *samca*, the Bulgarian *sjanka*, *senka*). They usually appear not periodically but, according to Serbian beliefs, they may come in the nights of the unbaptized days as well. The important place and time of the appearance of the Greek *iskios* is a crossroad at new moon.⁴³

The above beliefs are partly based on the idea that the souls of those who died an unnatural death are abroad in the air. According to the present-day beliefs of most Eastern Slavic peoples, the souls of those who have committed suicide, who have been throttled or drowned are abroad in the clouds, direct the clouds and bring storm or hail.⁴⁴ However, these features may also be characteristic not only of the storm demon fairies, but also of all sorts of *vile*, *samovile* and the Rumanian fairies. The Rumanian *rusali*, for example, “sometimes sing like girls, sometimes like the dead”. “At night they walk up in the sky and there they are wailing so that people think that the wind is blowing.”⁴⁵ Beliefs according to which the fairies are the souls of girls who died as brides before their marriage are especially popular among the Serbians and the Bulgarians. This aspect of Slavic fairies is clearly preserved by the Eastern and Western Slavic *vilas* and *rusalkas* who appear as water nymphs after they died unbaptized, committed suicide or died as brides. The South Russian *rusalkas* are also demons who bring storm and hail, so it cannot be accidental that among the Rumanian fairies it is exactly the evil storm fairy who is called (by a name borrowed from the Slavic) *rusali*.⁴⁶

The western relatives of the Balkan fairies, the soul troops of the *Wilde Jagd/Wildes Heer* led by *Perchta/Holda* and dashing along in the storm⁴⁷ – being the souls of those who died an abnormal death or were unbaptized – are in the first place the close relatives of these unbaptized demons. On the other hand, the combination of nature spirit, death and storm demon features connect them to fairies. In this respect what is especially characteristic of the Balkan (and of the E-Slavic) beliefs is the separation of the “unbaptized” demons of the winter solstice, who have only death

and storm-demonic features, from the more complex figures of the spring and summer “nymph” fairies, who also have the characteristics of the nature spirit.

As far as the E Balkan *dragons* are concerned (the E-Serbian and W-Bulgarian *chala*, the Serbian *ala/aždaha* and *lamnja*, the Macedonian *aždar*, the W-Bulgarian and Macedonian *lamja*, the Albanian *lamje* and *kušedra*, the Rumanian *zmeu* and *balaur*), they are on the one hand storm demons who ruin man’s settlement and crops with storm, hail and sometimes with fire, while on the other hand they can eat celestial bodies (they can steal the moon or cause a solar eclipse). They are dragon snakes, snakes or dog or horse-headed and winged demons who can also transform themselves into a wolf or other animals, e.g. a crow or an eagle. The dog-headed *lamja/lamje* is a transition to the “cynocephalous demons” that will be mentioned below. They also have the common characteristic of “stealing the crop”; they rob the vineyards and the fields so that they have good early wine and new bread, or they steal the crop and bring it to other places.⁴⁸ It is mainly their storm-demonic features that influenced fairy beliefs.

Periodical appearance among people is a common feature of all the Balkan fairies. The most important fairy time is a moonlit night until cock-crow. Noon is a typical time primarily of the *nerheids* and of the *vile*. Their main seasons are spring and summer, first of all the *Rusalia* Week before Whitsun and some further days between Easter and Whitsuntide, which vary in different places. The Greeks also consider certain dates in March and August and May Day as the days of the *nerheids*. In some Rumanian places St. George’s Day (23rd April) and 16th April are the days of the *iele*; while on *Drăgăica* Day (June 24th, when the summer solstice is celebrated) the “good” *sînziene* fairies appear among people.⁴⁹

These dates, apart from the summer solstice, refer to the fundamentally *death* origin of the fairies. *Rusalia* Week, in the Orthodox territories, is a feast of the dead, when the dead appear among people who offer them sacrifices, “pomana”. Their figures are more or less mixed with the fairies’, who are active at the same time; fairies, in several cases, are the dead themselves.⁵⁰ The fairies’ relation to death is also shown by the fact that the word *samodiva* came into the Rumanian language as a euphemistic designation of “the dead”.⁵¹ Further fairy times can be traced back to the death feasts held at the beginning of the year.⁵² The summer solstice as a fairy time is presumably in connection with the fertility-goddess features of the Rumanian *sînziene* fairies, who have light/sun attributes. In the Mediterranean territories noon is a traditional period of ghosts, when different mythical beings with “noon demon” features appear. The ancient Greek *lamias* also had similar characteristics and both *Hekate* and *Artemis*, who assumed some *Hekate* features, were considered as “noon demons”.⁵³ Besides them, the Balkan fairies who appear at noon may also have some Slavic “noon demon” ancestors: today both the E and the W Slavic peoples know the “noon woman” (*poludnica*, etc.) who appears at noon in the forest or among people working in the fields.

This woman also has some other “fairy” features (e.g. nature spirit, fertility protection, etc.).⁵⁴

The periodical recurrence of “fairy times” is a general characteristic that integrates the heterogeneous fairy world of the Balkans. Fairy time as a *supernatural/death time* in its alternation with *human time* – and in relation with the death origin of fairies – is part of an archaic, dual cosmogonical system.⁵⁵ The dualism of the strictly separated human and fairy worlds is in close connection with this time dichotomy. The fairies live in the *other world* that surrounds the *human world*: as nature spirits they live at certain places in the countryside characteristic of them: as dead/divine beings they live in remote mountains “at the end of the world” or in their palaces, castles and gardens built on these mountains. When they appear at people’s settlements, during the fairy times, they “determine” the fairy places, their quasi other worlds that symbolize their other worlds within the human world and culture. These are: meadows and pastures, ploughlands and paths, ditches and crossroads, yards, attics and roofs.

The features of fairies’ activities – reflected by the belief legends of today – show a fairly homogeneous picture of their ambivalent behaviour within the dual system. The fairy world and that of the people are in a certain give-and-take relation: fairies are malevolent only to those who have violated their boundaries and taboos, while their “goodwill” can be ensured by the proper rites and sacrifices. According to these legends both in their real and in their symbolic other worlds – during fairy time – they dance, proceed or fly in the air, they organize feasts, dances, and “dinners”. The most popular legends speak about accidentally seen, heard or spied fairies who take part in feasts, or proceed and dance from mountain to mountain and from valley to valley; they disappear when their time is up, when the cock begins to crow, when they see the cross or meet other kinds of preventive means. Their feasts – according to Rumanian beliefs – are held in their other-worldly palaces, where they sit at a “heavenly” table laden with gold dishes and goblets. The most internal place of their feasts held in a village is the yard. Rumanian, Greek and Croatian legends speak about groups of fairies who dance and sing in the yard at night and disappear with the first cock-crow.⁵⁶

According to certain legends, the groups of *vile* sometimes hold their feasts in people’s houses: they slip in through the keyhole and visit the houses or the wine cellars one after the other. The *nerheids* creep into the houses at night and turn everything upside down: they break the spinning and weaving instruments into pieces or entangle the yarn.⁵⁷ These legendary motifs of fairies breaking into people’s houses and turning everything upside down are rather strange if we think of the characteristic “distance keeping” of the fairy world. These elements presumably originate from the beliefs of the “winter demons” that we shall discuss later on.

Fairy places and times are forbidden for *man* and his activities. People must not go to fairies’ springs and trees, must not enter certain parts of the meadow “marked” by the fairies’ dance circles, and must not do any

kind of everyday activity at “fairy places”, either in the natural environment or in their own dwelling places. The prohibitions are particularly strict during fairy times: the attic and the yard can be used by people during the daytime but it is “owned” by the fairies at night; so it is not advised to leave the house at night. Crossroads, the balk and certain paths are at noon the places of the *vile*, so it is quite dangerous to cross these territories at that time. During the calendar periods mentioned above (and also at Easter and Whitsun, when work is also interdicted by the Church), certain kinds of agricultural work and household chores are forbidden in the whole area under investigation: e.g. tilling, felling trees, washing, cleaning the house, spinning, weaving, etc.

Fairy times and places burdened with taboos in contrast to times and places filled with man’s activity can be described by the oppositions *supernatural-human*, *nature-culture*, *outside-inside* and *sacral-secular time*. Such opposition appears in the taboo names of Rumanian, Greek and Albanian fairies: “the young ladies from outside”, “those from outside”. Greek and Rumanian expressions like “bad hour”, “dangerous hour” (related to the beings who have a harmful influence on people at such times) also refer to the basic role of the time dichotomy.

On the whole Balkan peninsula it was quite common to attribute different diseases and natural disasters to the activity of fairies, who thus punish the trespassers of their “boundaries”, the violators of their taboos: those who break the interdictions during Rusalia Week or between Easter and Whitsuntide are punished with illnesses (blindness, idiocy), with thunderbolts or hailstorms. For instance, according to Rumanian data, in Rusalia Week “nobody has to work, because they [the rusali] revenge themselves and they make you lame, they ruin you, take your eyes out, make you deaf or mad if you do not observe their days.” “Spying” on the fairies or listening to their distant songs and music also call forth vengeance. Those who catch sight of the *nereids* become deaf or blind, they suffer from the shivers or black freckles appear on their hands (seeing the “lady”, the “beautiful lady” is especially dangerous); those who spy the dance of the *iele* or the *vile* are punished similarly. Those who see or hear them must remain in silence and motionless in order to avoid punishment. It is especially dangerous to whistle or to speak to the fairies.

There is rich material on the belief related to the violation of fairies’ places: those who step on the places where they dance, play, eat or have dinner, those who disturb their dancing, pass through a crossroad or appear where they proceed, at their springs, paths or ditches, those who feel asleep on the balk, under the eaves or under trees, those who get into a whirlwind or into any other kind of flurry are all punished – especially with leg illnesses, paralysis, ulcers, eruptions, cramp in the hands and legs or contractions of the limbs, madness, idiocy, fits of epilepsy, collapse, apoplexy (“he has been struck by the vile/nereids/iele, etc.”) or with “pushed out lips” (facial paralysis). Urinating in fairies’ places or “soiling” their springs are especially strictly punished. The above

taboos are valid to a larger extent at fairy time, mostly at night, when it is in many places dangerous to leave the house, moreover to sleep outside (because fairies may fly above the sleeping person). Singing, a main activity of fairies, is forbidden for people at night. There are several Rumanian data according to which the *iele* "take away the voice" of those who venture to sing outdoors at night, or at any time at the places of fairies. Those who "commit an offence" at noon are punished with sunstroke: "they are hurt by the arrows of the vile" or of the nereids. As far as different diseases are concerned: sudden sicknesses, unexpected locomotive diseases, sudden diseases of the nervous system (paralysis, loss of eyesight or hearing, sudden high fever, epileptic attacks, sunstroke) are all often explained as punishments of those who have got in the way of the fairies, who have been run over by their cart, have been hurt by their arrows or by the whirlwind; such victims may have accidentally stepped on the site of eating or dancing fairies, or fairies may have flown over them. If such an illness-explaining principle is valid universally, it may be boundlessly extended – as has really happened, especially in Rumanian folk belief – to any unexpected harm to man, as fairies may "fly over" someone at any time, one can never know with certainty which are the "bad places" of a yard or of a meadow, from which spring it is forbidden to drink as it is used by the fairies at night; one can hardly notice when one steps on the fairies' "foot-prints", or on the instruments they have left behind (i.e. on plants symbolizing them). The extension of this principle is, for instance, shown by the Rumanian data according to which sickly children are "put onto the way of the *iele*".⁵⁸

To avoid the harmful influence of the fairies during their "time", protective magic nostrums were used all over the Balkans. The most important – and universally best-known – is garlic, as well as various iron objects, certain plants or parts of such plants (e.g. artemisa, elder or linden tree, etc.). In Greece especially religious amulets were also used. One important protective object of the Rumanians was a horse's skull (which the fairies were especially afraid of), but a "horse-head" as a preventive means was known in Southern-Slavic practice, too.⁵⁹

It seems, despite some contradictory data, that only *human* diseases were explained by the fairies' influence. (According to a Bulgarian belief the *samodiva* "does not injure the animals").⁶⁰ Damaging the animals and the crop was originally – and presumably – the act of some other harmful supernatural beings ("crop-stealers", crop-damaging dragons, werewolf demons). The only exception is when hail destroys the crop, which may be attributed to "evil" storm demon fairies not only as punishment for violating certain taboos but also as an absolutely wanton activity. Apart from this, fairies destroy neither animals nor crops as they are the protectors of these. On the other hand, the violation of taboos of supernatural origin is actually man's illegal entering into the (symbolic) other world: the consequences are death and illnesses originating in the other world.

“Winter demons”

As a digression, let us briefly mention here the demons who call on people in winter, during the “dark” periods. They are related to the fairies either originally, or as a consequence of a secondary contamination.

Between Christmas and Epiphany, on the so-called “unbaptized days” (the Bulgarians call them “dog days”, “dirty days”, “heathen days”) demons called *kallikantzari/karakondzuli* appear at people’s settlements in the forms of animals (horses, wolves, dogs, etc.), centaurs or deformed men (with dissimilar legs, with a horse’s or donkey’s legs, or they are hairy and black, etc.). They come from the inferno where – according to East Macedonian beliefs – they try to cut down the branches of the world tree, to saw up or to chew the pillar that supports the earth. They almost succeed when Christ is born; then they have to come up to the earth and the branches of the tree start to grow again. On earth they live in holes and eat raw dog flesh and snails. When they appear among people, they break into their houses, brutally destroy the cultural values, while taboos are imposed on the people (different woman’s jobs, wool processing, sexual life, etc.). In the houses they turn everything upside down, urinate on everything, torment the men, ravish the women and kidnap the children, and they ride on those who are out of doors. According to Greek data they hold dancing feasts in the houses, in the mills and wine cellars, they dally with women and make people dance, they do great cooking and baking, they steal meals and vomit into the vessels. When their time is up, people drive them back to hell with purifying ceremonies and noisy processions. According to the beliefs, these demons develop from “taken away” unbaptized children or from those who were born in the “unbaptized week”. According to other views, they are the returning souls of people of foreign nationalities or of Jews.⁶¹ In certain territories of Greece they are considered *werewolves*, i.e. men who become wild and assume a beastly appearance for this period.⁶² From this the duality of the *werewolf* and of the *werewolf demon* can be concluded. Their further characteristics connect them with the werewolf demons, or rather the wolf-/horse-/dog-demons.

The name “werewolf demon” is based upon the fact that such demons can be traced back partly to the Balkanic peoples’ dimming werewolf figures with secondary vampire features: the *vlkodlak/vukodlak*, etc., the Slovene *vedomec*, the Rumanian *prikulici* and *vircolac*.⁶³ Ignoring the vampire features of these beings, these names may mean either a demon who appears in animal form or a “real” werewolf (a human being with the ability to transform into a wolf or some other animal). Hertz, and later the Hungarian Róheim have already mentioned that the *vlkodlak* is not only a man transformed into a wolf but also a ghost who rises, in the form of a wolf, from the soul of a child dying unbaptized (Róheim also published some South Slavic, East Slavic and Rumanian data).⁶⁴ We have Greek, Albanian, Croatian, Slovenian as well as Bulgarian data on demons originating from the souls of the unbaptized dead and of the

murdered ones which haunt, pilfer the herds, the animals or “steal the crops” in the shape of a dog or a wolf.⁶⁵ It is an important feature of all the South Slavic and Rumanian werewolf demons that they “eat up” celestial bodies: they cause the eclipse of the sun and the moon, they symbolize the darkness and inferno that destroys the world.⁶⁶ They usually appear at the same time as werewolves become active. Such times are among the Lower Styrian Slovenes the days between Christmas and Epiphany (also called “wolf nights”), among the Rumanians the period between St. Andrew’s Day (30th Nov.) and Epiphany, Lent, Easter and Whitsuntide. According to Slovene beliefs werewolf demons also appear on the night of Quatember feasts, while in Croatia the summer solstice, i.e. the day of St. John the Baptist, is also considered the time for such demons’ appearance. Finally, the night of a new moon and the time of “the last quarter” are important periods for their appearance in the whole area.⁶⁷

The figures of *cynocephalous demons* (*psoglavac*, *pasoglav*, etc.) are more or less mixed with the *werewolf demons* – and the *karakondzuli* – and are also related to *dragons*. According to the present beliefs of the Balkans (Slovenia and Serbo-Croatia) and of the Baltic countries they live in infernal holes and caves or in hell (the other world at the end of the world) in a foreign country, “beyond the wall”. They want to destroy the whole world and, at certain periods when werewolf demons appear – they visit people, kill or steal the animals, ruin the crops or carry them away to their infernal/other-worldly dwelling places. The views about their origin are rooted in the archaic opposition of *own people/human* – *alien people/non-human*, and this is the explanation for their “foreign country” other world.⁶⁸

One common feature of these demonic beings is that they become malevolent demons from foreign, hostile living people, or from the souls of the dead who died “in the wrong way”, as well as from the souls of those whom they take away with them. From this point of view, they are close relatives of the demons of the procession of the unbaptized led by Perchta (Holda) and of the *malandanti*, who became evil demons, “shadows” from the souls of the *benandanti*, who join them instead of returning to their own bodies.⁶⁹ An even closer parallel is between them and the demons of the *Wütendes Heer/Wilde Jagd*, who proceed in the form of dogs and other animals. Finally, a common ancestor of all the afore-mentioned demonic beings is the procession led by *Hekate*, which consists of dead people who died “before their time”, accompanied by dogs (or she leads souls having the form of dogs). They come up from the inferno and appear at crossroads, they gallop in a storm and carry the living away with them.⁷⁰ East European dragon traditions of a storm-demonic nature also belong here. The afore-mentioned beliefs of the dragon snake, the animal-like demon that develops from those who died “in the wrong way”, and the dragons who “steal the crops” are perhaps the results of mingling between the werewolf demon beliefs and the dragon beliefs. Relationship – or a secondary mixing – is also shown by the above-mentioned dog-headed or wolf- and dog-shaped dragon

variants.⁷¹ The *werewolf demon*, beside its many-sided connection with other demons is, first of all, a demon who – as an “evil” ancestor – attacks his own tribe, or – as the dead of a neighbouring (foreign people) tribe – becomes (from the point of view of his own tribe) a hostile demon.⁷² Anyway, without a detailed analysis of “origin” and spreading (a problem claiming further investigation), we can say that in the Balkans the Slavic and Turkish (or South-East European in general) werewolf and dragon traditions are mixing with the *Wildes Heer*, *Perchta* and *Hekate* traditions, with Greek and Roman werewolf traditions, with the death aspect of the Dionysian cult (with the image of the dead who visit people during Anthesteria). This conglomerate has a manifold connection with fairy traditions through the threads of mutual origin. Fairies – based on their death aspect – are partly related to “winter demons”, while on the other hand, as a consequence of the other side of their ambivalent death aspect and their fertility-goddess features (we shall return to this problem later), the fairies can be regarded as the “counterpole” of such demons. This dichotomy sometimes manifests itself in the beliefs of *good* and *bad fairies* within the unity of their appearance and behaviour towards people.⁷³ The beliefs in “bad fairies” may be a secondary effect of winter demons; their negative attitude to people may have influenced fairies’ relations with people, as both kinds of these mythical connections are realized within the same space/time framework of the archaic dualism of the human world and the supernatural world. The places and periods of their appearance are usually the same: crossroads are places for fairies and winter demons as well, Easter-Whitsuntide is the time they appear in both cases.

Nevertheless, the “negative” character of winter demons is not exclusive, and it is perhaps the result of a secondary development; the “wrong” side of their original ambivalence – compared with spring and summer fairies – survived better than their presumable former positive features. It is worth mentioning here the animal-shaped “evil” ancestors who – as we shall see – coincide with “good”, protecting ancestors, or the positive counterpart of the “evil shadows” who have the role of good guardian spirits. The ambivalency of the *Perchtas* of the Alps and the Slovene-Croatian *Lucia* and *Pehtra Baba* – all common relatives of Balkan fairies and winter demons – manifests itself in the duality of goddess-like, fertility-guarding *Perchta/Holda*, etc. figures and their infernal/demonic escort.⁷⁴ The domination of fairies’ “good” side is shown by their appearance as beautiful women and dancing nymphs, by their “charming heaven” other world as opposed to the hellish other world of the winter demons, to their blackness and deformed bodies. This – from certain points of view, secondary polarization – may have been influenced by the Church, too. We have several data according to which unbaptized demons and their relatives were long and often identified with the Christian devils, first of all in the Orthodox, eastern territories of the Balkans in Bulgaria and Romania.⁷⁵ *Zoomorphic fairies* as well as other fairy variants that coincide with the animal figures of winter demons, guardian spirits, etc. represent a more archaic level of a fairy and demon

world free from the heaven/hell polarization enriched also with the above Christian features. Liungman, like the Bulgarian scholars, considers the *karakondzuli* as “winter equivalents” of the *nereids/vile*, chiefly because of their similar outward forms.⁷⁶

The same zoomorphic deep level is represented by “the horses of St. Theodore”; the Rumanian *sântoaderi* and the Serbian *todorci/todorovci*. These demons are related to the unbaptized demons and appear either in the form of a horse/horseman/centaur or as a man who has the attributes of a horse (he has a tail or horseshoes). They also have ambivalent death and fertility-bringing features.⁷⁷ Certain scholars consider them as fairies.⁷⁸ If they are fairies, then they are the male equivalents of female fairies; and in Rumanian beliefs they represent the horse and horseman fairies, otherwise quite common all over the Balkans. They appear among people during Lent, on one of the “death Saturdays” or in one of the “death weeks” of the Eastern Church.⁷⁹ According to Serbian data, at the same time the dead also come to the earth,⁸⁰ but the afore-mentioned beings themselves are also dead from a certain point of view: they carry away souls, the souls of the dead are escorted by the last, swayed horse of the procession. Their groups of seven, nine or twelve visit the villages at night, they appear then disappear, pulling and rattling chains. According to Rumanian beliefs their procession is supported with drum beating, and the clatter of their hoofs is far-sounding. They ride on those who leave their homes at night, or kick them or trample them down. They also break into houses, insult the dwellers and dance on their bodies. They also bring illness but – according to certain data – they punish only those who violate the taboos that are valid only during their appearance. These taboos are mainly related to wool processing and spinning; if somebody is found doing such work, they destroy the furniture, jump on the weaving loom and tangle up the yarn.

Sacrifices offered to the horse/horseman demons and to their patron, St. Theodore, prove the fertility-patron role of these demons,⁸¹ as well as the healing, curing rites or magic rites assuring health and beauty for the women performed three weeks after Easter on Todorusale Day, devoted to them.⁸² We also know a Serbian belief according to which summer “is brought by St. Theodore”.⁸³ On Todorusale’s Day – according to Rumanian beliefs – the *sântoaderi* dance with the *iele*.⁸⁴ The archaic ambivalency of “St. Theodore’s horses” is expressed in these beliefs: it is the opposition of *light* and *darkness*, of *sun/summer/heaven* – *darkness/winter/inferno*. The coexistent solar and infernal/death character of these demons is expressed even more strongly in the beliefs popular in the Rumanian Banat: St. Theodore with twelve Theodore horsemen chases the sun, which from the beginning of spring deviates from its original route and moves northwards (so the demons divert the sun “backwards”); or six white horses chase six black ones and defeat them.⁸⁵

Other horse demons similar to Theodore horses are also known from Slovene folk belief,⁸⁶ and they also have common features with the horse figures of werewolf demons (in addition to those we already mentioned in connection with the *karakondzuli*).⁸⁷ Added to this – as pointed out

by Zecevic, in his material on the Serbian *todorci* – they are also related to the spirit by horses of the *Wilde Jagd/Wildes Heer* who carry the souls away.⁸⁸ Their fertility-bringing role and the sacrifices offered to them remind us of the fertility-bringing aspect of the *Perchtas* and the Slovene-Croatian *Pehtra Baba* and *Lucia*, while the afore-mentioned darkness/light opposition reminds us of the “dark” and “light” *Lucias*. Their role in controlling the spinning also connects them with the Austrian-Slovene-Croatian *Mittwinterfrau* (and with the Rumanian equivalents, the spinning-controlling demons called *Marti Seara*, *Vineri Noapte* – “Tuesday evening”, “Friday evening”).⁸⁹ Death features and the attributes of a divine being “protecting woman’s job”, which is a probable origin of their spinning-controlling activity, together mean one of those lines which may lead to a common Caucasian/Iranian connection of the Theodore horses, the Balkan fairies and the *Perchtas* of the Alps. It was Bleichsteiner who called attention to these demonic beings’ distant *Tadzhik* relatives, who show a striking number of similar features: these latter mythical beings appear on Tuesdays, have chthonic goddess characteristics and also control the spinning.⁹⁰ Their goodwill – just as in the case of the *Perchtas* and the Slovene-Croatian *Pehtra/Lucia* – is ensured by various floury sacrifices. Another distant relative of the afore-mentioned demons is a former sky and storm goddess, well-known by the *Tadzhiks* and their neighbours: on the one hand, she is the ruler of the dead (she leads the procession of children’s souls), and on the other, she is the patron of different women’s jobs (with hemp and milk). These distant parallels do not of course prove a direct relationship, but they do call the attention to such possible directions in further investigation which may lead to a state more archaic than the basically secondary fairy and demon world of the Balkans and, in this way, we may also find the one original complex/ambivalent figure whose attributes later found shape in *various* mythical creatures. Later, in connection with the goddess-like features of fairies and their initiated wizards, we shall revert to these relations.

Returning to the demons discussed above, their common feature distinguishing them from the spring-summer fairies (at least in the beliefs of modern times) is their brutality: they break into people’s houses and there turn everything brutally upside down. It is precisely these features which suggest that they originated from the *rites* themselves. Accordingly, the beliefs referring to certain of their characteristics – or to their very existence – might originate from the masked rites impersonating them, performed during “their time”. The concept of this ritual origin aroused mainly in connection with the beliefs of the “real werewolf”, of the *man* who periodically transforms himself into a wolf (if the above-mentioned mythical beings – or some of them – were regarded as werewolves and not as demons).⁹¹ Independent of the role played by the priority of myth/rite in the question of “origin”, the *karakondzuli*, the werewolf demon, the Theodore horses are obviously *demons* who visit people periodically and have the features of the dead. The ritual representation of each of them – in the same period – is well-known⁹² and is closely connected

with the beliefs of the returning dead who appear in mid-winter, at the beginning of the year or in the period of Dionysia Anthesteria.⁹³ The masked rites, as a matter of fact, may have influenced the beliefs. It is quite possible that the “wild” activities imputed to winter demons (e.g. their feasts, when they proceed from house to house, from wine cellar to wine cellar, or the procession of the demons going round the village beating drums) have actually a ritual origin⁹⁴ and, accordingly, the masked rites influenced indirectly not only the similar (i.e. contradictory to the views separating the fairies’ world from man’s) fairy beliefs, but perhaps also the conception of the fairy feasts (when playing, dancing fairies proceed from house to house).

Harmful fairies and bewitching

One of the most important aspects of fairy/witch relations is the process by which the “harmful” side of the fairies ambivalent towards man became absorbed into witchcraft. This process can generally be characterized by the diminishing, the ceasing of the “good” side of the fairies, by the loss of their role in protecting the community, in granting fertility and, parallel to this, the “bad” side lived on partly in its original function (as an explanation for the harm done to man) attached to the humanized figure of the increasingly witch-like fairies. As to the Hungarian witch, basically negative, demonic beings also contributed to her demonic features: beside others the above-mentioned *karakondzuli*, the *unbaptized*, the *werewolves* and their relatives (summarily called the “winter demons”), partly directly, partly through the S-Slavic and Rumanian witch-figures. Their characteristics often simply mingled with the demonic features of witches of fairy origin, while in other cases – through the related features of their “death” aspect – these characteristics regularly intermixed. Contrary to the fairies, they hardly appear in the Hungarian folk belief system as individual belief figures: their “devil” variants only enriched the devil images that have also appeared in the folkloristic images of witch companies and witch feasts.⁹⁵ On the other hand, they are known as rather indefinite, partly ghost-like, partly witch-like beings appearing when the Balkan winter demons appear – mostly between Christmas and Epiphany, between St. Lucy’s Day (13th December) and Christmas, or at new moon. They are usually called or described as “*the bad*”, “*the evil*” or the “*evil souls*”. In Hungarian folk belief the indication of their time – as a “bad time” – or of their important place of appearance, the crossroad – as the “place of the bad ones”, the “bad place” – often merely refers to the secondary beliefs related to them.⁹⁶

As far as their integration into the Hungarian witchcraft system is concerned, the situation becomes even more complicated by the fact that the Rumanian witch – the *strigoi* – as an intermediary link – was an

important transmitter of the features linking the Hungarian witches with these demons. The *strigoi* is a peculiarly dual being as *living* and *dead strigoi* who unites the human witch and the demonic witch in *one*, two-faced figure. While the living *strigoi* has several werewolf (Rumanian *prikulici*) characteristics, and originally positive werewolf wizard attitudes, the dead *strigoi*, beside some vampire features, in the first place owns the attributes of the werewolf demons and the Rumanian “unbaptized” demon, the so-called *moroi*. Their origin, their form variants, the time of their appearance, their activities (like stealing the crops and harming the livestock) all refer to the werewolf demons; while their activities, such as breaking into houses through the chimney or closed doors, the way they turn everything upside down, soil everything, persuade people to leave their houses so that they may cruelly hurt and spoil them, their infernal attributes, their noisy feasts held in different wine cellars, are all features common to all the malevolent demons mentioned above.⁹⁷

In the Hungarian witch, these demonic features of the *strigoi* were tantamount to the “winter demons”. It is particularly the witch beliefs of the eastern part of the language territory where the harmful methods and deeds (like disturbing, destroying the cultural values) of the *strigoi*, of the *prikulici* and of the *moroi* can be recognized, while the southern and south-eastern territories display similar characteristics of the *karakondzuli* and the *unbaptized*. Our witch and fairy beliefs in the eastern territories were strongly influenced by the *horses of St. Theodore* and – related to them – also by the *strigoi* appearing as horse/horseman demons.⁹⁸

Returning to the question of the fairy/witch development, we may assume from our Serbo-Croatian and Slovene data that the fairies’ transformation into witches might have been quite similar to the change I wish to demonstrate in connection with the Hungarian *szépasszony* and witches on the basis of several data.⁹⁹ As opposed to the South Slavic witches, the Rumanian *strigoi* – according to our data – has only very few fairy features. The main reason is perhaps the vividness of the Rumanian fairy beliefs that can be experienced here, the survival of their original functions.

The Hungarian *szépasszony* can be regarded as an intermediate phase in the fairies’ transformation into witches. We do not know whether an original, purely “fairy” phase ever existed – a phase which could have been characterized by the features of the Balkan fairies’ roles as nature spirits/nymphs/weather demons, guardian spirits/fertility patrons of a given community. Our present data hardly refer to any of these roles. At the cost of the faded “fertility-bringing” aspect of the fairies, their illness-bringing, harmful side endured: what is more, it went beyond its original sphere and became universal.

In accordance with the archaic dual system of Balkan fairy beliefs, fairies do harm only to those who violate “their places and/or time”. The same is true of the Hungarian *szépasszony*; actually, the most vivid remains of these beliefs all refer to the punishment of those who have

violated their places and periods of time: those who tread on their ways, disturb their “dinner” or dance, get into a whirlwind, step on their path at noon or fall asleep on the balk or in a ditch are punished in several ways; they quite often suffer from skin diseases or a limp or some nervous complaint. For example: some people sat down on the smooth grass in a nice meadow and when they started for home they lost their way three times because they had stepped “into the bowl of the szépasszony”.¹⁰⁰ “Bewitching” linked to fairy places and fairy times represents a rather important proportion of the Hungarian witch’s harm-doings: the “fairy” origin of the witch is in many cases proved by these surviving frames: “On the bank of the Pince there were some green circles and the witches were said to be dancing there. As my father was driving across these circles in his cart, somebody hit him in the face”.¹⁰¹

The transformation of the fairies’ harmful activities into bewitching within the surviving framework of place and time was imputed to malevolent human magic. Both from the evidences of the witch trials and from our present data we can take several examples of cases when the witch, doing harm in typical fairy situations, is recognized as a *human being*, and is identified with a “real”, well-known witch. For example: “Last summer, while he was dreaming at noon, somebody attacked him like a cold wind, in the form of Mrs. Mihályné Oláh...”¹⁰² Hungarian witch trials give several examples of persons who do harm within the demonic framework of place and time. The report of a witch trial in 1653, for instance, illustrates how the storm demon fairy transforms into a human witch. Several witnesses explain in detail how witches “make stone rain”, how the scourge caused by a demon became malevolent human magic: “They assembled around a pyrus and gathered stones in a basket. Then they climbed a tree and sat in bird nests. From here they flew away as kites, bringing the stone rain with them.”¹⁰³ A witness at a trial held in Kőröstarcsa in 1755 confesses that it was Mrs. Jancsóné, a midwife, who made the whirlwind.¹⁰⁴

Good fairies, goddesses and guardian spirits

The “positive” side of fairies, whose relation to people is ambivalent, is the protection of the communities’ fertility. In this role they have the characteristics of both the dead and the dancing Artemis with her nymphs, together with other archaic goddesses of fertility. They visit people at the beginning of the year or of a season, at “death periods”, and promote the agricultural fertility of the community. On the other hand, the fertility of the communities can be assured by rites performed at these times, ritually impersonating the dead/the fairies and/or making contact with them.

The mythical continuity of the self-determined sacral time that can be interpreted as the “intervals” in human time manifests itself in the

sacrifices, the curing rites and other beliefs related to “initiation”, which are all linked with the periodical return of fairies: these are the places and times where and when people can communicate with fairies, when trouble can still be prevented or averted, when people can find favour with the fairies by offering them different sacrifices.

These positive elements of the Balkan fairy world are rather obscure and disintegrated. A typical group of data refer to the “fertility-bringing” aspect of the fairies’ appearance among people, which is closely connected to singing and dancing. According to Croatian and Dalmatian data, in the homes where fairies appear, where they sing above the house or dance in the yard, they bring good luck and prosperity.¹⁰⁵ Their dance brings fertility. The beliefs related to the circular tracks left by their dancing feet refer to this: grass grows here in profusion, downtrodden grass grows up again, just as grass burns down under their dancing steps. On the other hand, the fairies leave an “axe”, a “hammer”, “scissors” and other “instruments” in their dancing place; these are in fact *herbs* used in curing. Axes and stones with holes dating from the Stone Age are also considered as remains of their dances and as useful magic objects. According to some data from the Croatian Drava area, the fairies danced in the wheat field, made little round beds and covered them with kerchiefs: the crop in that year was abundant.¹⁰⁶ The *iele* dance in gardens “where the grass is green” or “in the sown land and there they lay their tables”.¹⁰⁷ These data show the fertility-bringing aspect of the dancing fairies’ feasts and dinners (presumably, these feasts are imagined to be quite similar to real fairy sacrifices). This is supported by the wide-spread belief in connection with the *vile*, the *samodive*, and the *iele*, as well: the herbs collected from their “dining” places (i.e. the herbs meaning such “objects” as a spoon, a plate, a sieve, etc., left behind at their dining places) must not be touched (anyone who touches them may catch the usual “fairy diseases”) or, on the contrary, they are just good remedies for curing such diseases and for averting the fairies’ maleficent influence. Similarly positive is the effect (curative, fertility magic or future telling) of the herbs and flowers collected at certain “fairy” *times*. On fairies’ days – when fertility rites are performed all over the Balkans – these herbs are taken home, preserved for the next season and used for various curing, future telling, etc. purposes.¹⁰⁸

Besides the features of the dancing nymphs and the Artemis/Diana-like fairy queen leading her bevy, traces of other characteristic marks pointing to fertility goddesses can be found in the Balkan fairy world, specifically in Rumanian folk belief. The best-known motifs related to the *iele* are as follows: they sweep along in carts, coaches or pulling a plough; on days when they appear among people they “wander all over the world”, in a single night they sail over nine seas and go about nine countries; once a year they return to the places visited the year before; each year, at the same time, they come back to dance at the place of their previous year’s ring dance.¹⁰⁹ The figure of the *iele* sweeping around in a cart or with a plough and going round the world periodically in mythical times leads us to the contours of a “world watch” agrarian,

fertility-protector, heavenly goddess. This aspect is also known as the feature of the E-Hungarian (Gyimes) *szépasszony*: “the *szépasszony* sees the future, and the past, she walks on the top of the world so that she can see what is happening in different places”.¹¹⁰ A parallel to the *szépasszony* “who is walking on the top of the world” is the Rumanian *Zîna Magdalina* who – according to one type of wedding colinde text – is related to the image of the “world tree”.¹¹¹ According to belief, *Zîna Magdalina* together with *Ileana Cosînzeana* (“Fairy Ileana”) and the “fairy of dawn” are very similar to the fairies called *sînzienne* who appear among people once a year, at the time of the summer solstice (on Drăgăica Day). Of these congenial creatures with different names it is Ileana Cosînzeana who, according to some beliefs, wakes up at night and brings the next day. Her eyes are like the sun, and she is the mistress of the freely milking and nice cows.¹¹² The journeys of the *iele* round the world and their role in promoting fertility are very similar to the features of *Perchta/Holda*¹¹³, the only difference being that the latter start their journey at the beginning of the winter season, whereas the Rumanian fairies arrive in spring or in summer and the *sînzienne* arrive at the summer solstice. As we have mentioned above, this fairy time is in Rumanian folk belief not connected with the beliefs of dead people’s “return to earth”. This also indicates an origin slightly different from that of the Easter-Whitsun death fairies. Duerr relates *Zîna Magdalina* sitting in the tree to Artemis “adored in the trees”.¹¹⁴ From our scarce data we cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions. However, the text-folklore motifs of the Balkan – especially the Rumanian – fairy world referring to the fairies’ sun-bringing and fertility-protecting role, to the world tree/tree of life fit in with those East-European folklore motifs that describe a fertility-protecting mythical female figure (in folklore she often appears as the Blessed Virgin Mary), sitting in the middle of the world/on the *omphalos*-stone, in or under the world tree, in the tree of life. The supposed ancestors of these mythical figures are – among others – the Magna mater-type goddesses from Asia Minor, e.g. Artemis of Ephesos (often described as a snake coiling up to the omphalos or to a tree) or Artemis of Paphos depicted as a woman holding the sun/the moon in her hands.¹¹⁵

Existing more or less distinct from the general notion of fairies in the Balkans and the fertility goddess-like fairies are those *guardian spirit*-like fairies who take care of the fertility of a given family or tribe. According to Croatian data from the Drava River area, each village has its own *vila*, who protects the village: they are “good women” who “guard the crop”, the pear and the mast, the important fodder of pig breeding. In summer, mostly during hailstorms, “they watch the meadow better than the field guard himself”, moreover, “they guard not only our fields but actually all Hungary.”¹¹⁶ Bulgarian fairies guard the vegetable garden during Rusalia Week.¹¹⁷ According to some Greek data the *nereids*, as the guardian spirits of their own area/village, fight the “evil-deemed” *nereids* of neighbouring territories: the legions of mountain and sea fairies meet on Saturdays to fight for the prosperity of their own region; those who were protected by the losing group “must endure great suffering”.¹¹⁸

Even these few data show ramifying connections with various *non-fairy-type guardian spirits* who have, however, more or less intermingled with fairies. In several cases we may also assume that we can here find figures more archaic than those of the Balkan fairies unified as dancing nymphs, and we have here the pre-fairy mythical beings preserved in and outside the fairy beliefs that have faded out and lost their function. Thus we have actually reached the roots of one part of fairy belief. In other cases it is quite clear that the mythical beings we find here are basically different from the fairy notions and are only secondarily contaminated by them. The outcome is in both cases the same: the contamination/the transitional forms of fairies and different protecting spirits/gods are gradually losing their function and dying out. It is also possible that the distinctions will in the light of further data be much easier to see. But until then it is necessary to record briefly the various connections, contaminations and parallels, especially since not only the figures of the other type of guardian spirits and gods contaminated with the fairies, the figures of their initiated and protected also contaminated strongly with each other. However, we must try to specify: "who belongs to whom" – one reason being that we want to answer one of the questions raised in the introduction: to make the relation clear between shamanistic wizards and fairies and, in general, to define and segregate the various types of wizards.

Mainly from the context of wizards related to the guardian spirits it became clear that some of the guardian spirit features can be traced back to the *moiras* absorbed into the figure of the fairies in the whole of the Balkans. The antique traditions of the *moiras* – presumably mixed with similar Slavic beliefs – have survived until the present day (cf. Greek *moira*, and of Slavic origin: the Serbo-Croatian *urisnica*, *nerusnica*, and the Rumanian *ursaie*,¹¹⁹ etc.). They are not only the characters of *fate legends* popular in the whole region, but – mainly in Greece and Rumania – they are also known as "real" belief figures determining the life of the new-born, whose favourable decision can be obtained through sacrifices. They also have a role at marriages, while the "third Moira" is often the leader of souls, the angel of death, too. Also well-known is another figure absorbed into the fairies. These beings are similar to the fairies in appearance and bring blessing or illness to the people. In many places they are identified with the fairies themselves.¹²⁰

These fairies entwined with the *moiras* usually act as individual guardian spirits. (As Lawson mentions: even beside the classical Greek "three great moiras", "minor moiras" stood by people, first as the embodiments of their good and bad fates, later as good and bad guardian angels.¹²¹) In the Serbo-Croatian, the Albanian and the Bulgarian heroic epic these are the personal guardian angels of the clan's hero, they stand next to him in battle, help him and guard him. In Serbo-Croatian beliefs this role later widened: the *moira* fairies became the protectors of persons and families who themselves originate from them, protecting their fertility and bringing them good luck, while in other cases they became the "good women" who protected the whole village.¹²²

The storm demon-like guardian spirits appearing in *dragon* or *dragon-snake* forms – and well-known in Serbian, Bulgarian and Rumanian folk belief – serve as the closest parallels on the one hand to the Croatian guardian-spirit fairies who protect the fields from the hail-bringing storm demons and, on the other hand to the *nereids* who fight with each other for their territories. They fly in thunder clouds, bring storm and hail, but protect their “own areas” as “good dragons”: they protect the crop of the village or the family, “the vintage of the graperies”, going round the fields and the vineyards they protect the crop and the vintage from hail, i.e. from the “evil” dragons (*ala*, *chala*, *azdaja*, etc.) who bring storm and hail, and they ensure the proper weather, even in spite of the neighbouring area’s guardian-spirit dragon. Such beings are the Bulgarian *zmej*, the Serbian *zmaj*, the Rumanian *zmeu* (“snake”), the Serbian *ala*, the *vlva* from Crna Gora and the Rumanian *vîlva* from Bánát. When they violate each other’s territory, they begin to fight, which manifests itself in storm and hail: the patronized of the winner are ensured fine weather and an abundant crop.¹²³

The guardian spirits of the Greek-Macedonian-Rumanian beliefs called *stoicheion*, *stichio*, *stafia* (“shadow”)¹²⁴ who are actually the *ancestors* of a community (a village or a family) and who appear as snakes, dragon snakes or other animals (e.g. as a crow or a bull), as a whirlwind or a windstorm. Their name refers to a “death”-origin: they are actually the “good” ancestors of the clan or the tribe, they are the positive counterparts of those “evil” demons, “*shadows*” who (as we have seen in connection with the “winter demons”), being the “evil” ancestors of the community, attack their own clan in wolves’ or other animals’ shape. So, what we see here is – in accordance with the ambivalent character of the dead – the two aspects of the same mythical being.¹²⁵ Similarly, in the case of the dragon-snake storm demons, we can speak about dragon figures coincidental with the “evil” storm demons:¹²⁶ here the community’s *own* guardian spirit is “good” and protects the tribe, the clan, the village against the *alien*, “evil” guardian spirit of the neighbouring territories. In this sense it is worth mentioning those Greek data that speak about the fights between the *stoicheions* (which are quite similar to the above-mentioned *nereid* battles): the weather of a given territory (a snow storm or a very cold winter) depends on the success of the fight between the two tribes’ *stoicheions*. Furthermore, the outcome of the battles between the hostile tribes, the number of deaths in the tribe – also all depend upon the *stoicheions*’ fight.¹²⁷

On the basis of the scant data available it is hard to decide whether the storm-demon dragons of SE Europe (and of other, further areas) originally played the role of guardian spirits or whether they just entwined with those guardian spirits who appeared in animal forms; or, whether the latter originally had storm-demonic features or whether they obtained these characteristics through contamination with the dragon-snake and snake figures. A third and also important element here is that in the case of the *zmej* the “ancestor appearing in animal form” is obviously an *animal-ancestor* guardian spirit, since his *son* was born to him by an

earthly woman in the *zmej* (Serbian *zmej/zmaj*, *zmajevit dete*, *zmajevit čovek*, Bulgarian *zmej/zmejove*, Macedonian *zmij*: “snake child”, “snake man”), the wizard with shamanistic power. The *snake-zmej* patronizes the *human-zmej* (who was born from a snake) and helps him in his shamanistic, heavenly fights with the “evil” storm dragons (*lamia*, *chala*, etc.) attacking the community.¹²⁸ According to Serbian data, the dragon snake *ala* also protects the sowings of its own “relatives”¹²⁹ – i.e. the “animal ancestor” can seemingly be found behind the figures of various guardian-spirit dragons.

However distant the relation between the fairy guardian spirits and the animal ancestors, they – according to our data – became contaminated with each other. Dukova, when examining the Bulgarian dragons, also says that the figure of the *zmej* intertwined to a certain extent with the clan- or village-protecting fairies.¹³⁰ On the other hand, the dragon-snake guardian spirits, or rather their storm-demonic character often “interbred” with the storm-demon fairies’ figures just like the “evil dragon” storm demons. Due to this, it is often unclear to which mythical beings our data on the storm-demon guardian spirits and their battles among each other can be related.¹³¹ Nevertheless, we can clearly separate two different lines that meet in the beliefs of the Balkanic peoples: on the one hand we find the guardian spirits who protect the crop and ensure good weather for a given community: they represent the positive aspect of those souls/ancestors who proceed in the air/in the storm having an original or a secondary connection with the death/storm-demonic side of the fairies. On the other hand, there are the “good” guardian spirits who are actually ancestors appearing in animal forms, or even the animal ancestors of the clan. The notion of the “animal ancestor” can presumably be related to *totemic* concepts which came to the Balkans with the Bulgaro-Turkish people.

Beautiful fairies – beautiful witches

The positive side of the Balkan fairy world – traces of which can be found only sporadically even in South Slavic and Rumanian beliefs – could hardly survive in the Hungarian *szépasszony* beliefs. Their characteristics as divine beings/guardian spirits – apart from the aforementioned *szépasszony*, who takes care of the whole world – are referred to only by a few data from the eastern territories, from the neighbourhood of the more lively *iele* traditions. For instance, according to some Moldavian data, these “beautiful women” protect the village from the demons bringing different illnesses: if such demons arrive at the village, they gather and drive them away.¹³² It is also possible that the *iele* who ride on ploughs are the equivalents of the witches appearing with a plough drawn by six horses.¹³³ Nevertheless, these data are only

functionless fragments which do not fit into the context of *szépasszony* beliefs.

The fertility-bringing aspect of fairy groups proceeding from mountain to mountain, from meadow to meadow, from house to house is totally missing in the Hungarian *szépasszony* beliefs. The references and legends on fairies and *szépasszonys*, who suddenly appear then disappear, proceed, fly, dance and sing in groups are well-known in the whole Hungarian language territory, but all describe the fairy world as a collection of functionless, "beautiful" phenomena: "The *szépasszonys* are fairies who walk and sing in the air from midnight to the first cock-crow, and sometimes they can also be seen".¹³⁴

The fairies of these legends are beautiful women who bathe in the stream, comb their golden hair, in other cases they are wild geese flying over the forest, and making their "lila, lulu, i, i" sound heard, or they are beautiful girls who dance round a meadow by moonlight.¹³⁵ The legends on meetings between people and such beings often express the fearfulness of meeting the supernatural (similar to ghost legends, or in many cases contaminated with such ghost legends): "... he heard music from the hillside ... ghosts came in with music. There were nine – covered with white sheets, they must have been some kind of womenfolk..." Or: at noon a girl in white appears in the road. She is seen only by two and she "sends fright" on those who have seen her.¹³⁶

The fairy groups' "fine, beautiful appearance" expressing man's desires seems to be more considerable than their frightfulness appearing in their death character. Perhaps this is why the "beautiful side" was preserved even after the transformation into witches: like shimmering reminiscences of a desire world among the drastic malevolency, the cruelty and viciousness of the witches. Fairy characteristics and appearances attributed to witches can be found even in the earliest testimonies of witch trials as often as in the witch beliefs of today. Ordinarily, anyone having fairy attributes is simply called a "witch". For instance (the witches), "gather on certain days and then they amuse themselves, and play music... they travel in the air accompanied by the music of bagpipe, violin and cymbalo..." Or: "... in the forest he heard a song, such a beautiful song... They said, surely the witches are amusing themselves..."¹³⁷

The fairy becomes a "real" witch when her beautiful appearance form variant is proof of the *human witch's* magic transfiguring ability. The following question was asked at Dániel Rózsa's witch trial in Szeged: "Who were those *szépasszonys*?" ("beautiful women") The answer was: "In the assemblies of the witches nobody is ugly or old, they all seem to be very beautiful".¹³⁸ Let us see another description of a 1739 trial in Hódmezővásárhely: "However ugly and pitchy they are at home, in their assembly all of them look beautiful and smart; should they dress at home in tatters, there their clothes seem to be made of beauty."¹³⁹ The testimonies of the witch trials often speak about this kind of fairies' transformation into witches, when the fairies' charm, their dresses and their way of processing appear as the manifestation of the witches' magic

ability to transform. The witch, for instance, flies in the form of a crow or a whirlwind, sits in a swallow's nest, where she seems to be sometimes little, sometimes big, and sometimes disappears; she walks on top of the trees as quickly as the wind; or the whole witch company "transforms into crows and alights on willows". They travel in green coaches on the top of the trees, and so forth.¹⁴⁰

While the witches' form variants, like beautiful women and whirlwinds, can unambiguously be regarded as of fairy origin, among the animal form variants (referring to the numerous animal forms of the "winter demons") the same origin can be safely verified only in the case of bird forms (crows, wilde-geese, or ravens) having *other* fairy attributes, too (e.g. who can transform into a beautiful woman).

The fading functions of the fairy world and its transformation into witchcraft disrupted the equilibrium of the characteristic opposition of the fairy and the human world within the dual system. The good side of the fairies lost its function or ceased, though the traditional places and times – as an empty framework – in many cases survived. Traces of the fairies' positive influence exercised in their places and times can be found even in different witch beliefs. Nevertheless, these beliefs never refer to the fairies as fertility-bringing supernatural beings; they merely keep the memories of the fairy places and times as periods and places being suitable for performing "useful" and "good" rites having positive aims. For instance, there is a well-known belief in the curative power of the objects and herbs gathered in fairy places and in fairy periods of time. It is very characteristic that – parallelly – the belief in the same herbs' dangerous influence is also popular. For instance, according to Kálmány's data from the southern part of the Hungarian Plain, the herbs called *the palm/the grass/the milkbread of the szépasszony* gathered in fairy places have a curative effect; according to some other data from Baranya county: "People know the plant called *the grass of the szépasszony*, which is in close connection with losing one's way and is also called *wrong grass*."¹⁴¹ Quite similarly, beside the beliefs in several methods of bewitching at crossroads, the same crossroads are known as places of useful work, and the herbs gathered there are used in curing.¹⁴² The final phase, when the fairies transform totally into witches, is shown by the "bad" effect of the fairies/witches appearing at "fairy places and times" – an "evil" effect coming from their personalities, instead of their originally good, benevolent role. No longer does the grass grow higher at their dancing place, but: "Where they dance, grass does not grow, only red mushrooms which they eat".¹⁴³ During the nightly bathing of the fairies the open-air waters are forbidden for man. When it is "already" the witch who is bathing in the water, it is not good for men because "on St. George's night every witch bathes in the water and it becomes dirty from them."¹⁴⁴ The crossroad, once one of the places of the fertility-bringing fairy dinners, became an "evil place" in a similar way. According to the earliest variations of Hungarian *szépasszony* beliefs, fairies dining at the crossroad must not be disturbed. "You mustn't go there because you'll become ill – since the szépasszonys were cooking there".¹⁴⁵ The "dinner of the szépasszony"

becomes senseless, loses its original function, when she puts something on the crossroad already with an "evil intention" – i.e. she performs a magical activity attributed to the human witch: "The szépasszony washes her legs, then she cooks beans in the same water. That she pours at the crossroad, and if somebody steps into it, she or he gets an abscess", and: "she stepped into the plate of the szépasszonys".¹⁴⁶

The beliefs about fairy groups proceeding from house to house – having lost their supposed original function and contents – served as one of the frames for the malevolent fairy or witch, for the occasions and places of their harm-doing.

The dividing line between the fairy world and the human world have disappeared, the "feasts" formerly held in the open air, and at the "fairy places" of people's settlements now entered people's homes and took their place among the people. A few data from our witch trials: "The szépasszonys were dancing in the porch...", "They have such big violins and bagpipes...". Three witches from Komárom county "danced round the house". A witness from Bihar county heard the voice of "pipe and drum" under his window, then the drummer slipped in the window, and the witness suddenly noticed that three young women were dancing in the house; a witch from Hódmezővásárhely was seen to be dancing in the porch wearing a green fur-trimmed velvet skirt and she was heard shouting "hop-hop".¹⁴⁷ The reports of a witch trial in Bihar county clearly prove that here we really do find a fairy dance and a fairy feast that have lost their original function: at night "in the little house there was dancing and whistling..." then, in the morning behind the door, "a lot of spoons were left behind", which are traditional remains of "fairies' dinners" (though here their metaphorical meaning is not explained).¹⁴⁸ The fairies' dance often becomes wild: they force the dwellers to dance: "... she took him from the bed and he had to dance with her...".¹⁴⁹ In other cases, the already functionless "fertility dance" definitely becomes a method of bewitching: "They, in the form of Mr János Vadkert, took her to dance three times round the room. At that time she caught the disease that lasted for nine weeks."¹⁵⁰ The airy, fine appearance of fairies, separating them from human beings, sometimes gives place to the brutal bewitching methods of the human witch. In this kind of extension of fairies' "harmful" activities we see the influence of the "winter-demon" beliefs: these – penetrating into people's homes – created total disorder by their brutal behaviour. We may add that memories of the masked processions where the winter demons and fairies were personified have – in all probability – merged into the image of the fairy, and demon groups. We shall revert to this point later on. One characteristic type of witch feast – often described in the confessions of our witch trials – developed from precisely these images.¹⁵¹ People's reports on their "experiences" (which are actually heterogeneous combinations of motifs of different origin) all describe fairies' appearance, the brutality of the "winter demons" and the memories of real masked processions as experiences gained at the boundary of dream and reality, merging with reminiscences referring to the "other world" of fairies who visit people from time to time. In these

reports “fairy appearance” is usually just a colourful element of the great cooking and baking, the gorging and brutal tormentings so characteristic of the feasts of the *karakondzuli*, *strigoi*, etc. According to the testimonies of the injured in a witch trial held in Öcsöd, at night while asleep – as a dream vision – “suddenly light flooded the house as if it were daytime”, and three persons dressed in glittering clothes were sitting in the chest and blowing whistles. Then “they began to dance, always on tiptoe”. But the “heavenly scene” suddenly disappears: the three persons – recognized as human witches – snatch the child from the lap of the injured and beat its head against the door.¹⁵²

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLDS: THE INITIATED AND THE MEDIATORS

According to our few but wide-spread data, the wizards who had contacts with fairies were active practically throughout the whole Balkan territory. These wizards and their relations were of several types. First of all I will try to show the par excellence fairy magician, *the* initiates of the fairies, then those who, in my opinion, came into contact with fairies only by the contaminating belief systems of different origin. Since *the* fairies do not exist like mythical beings of a homogeneous, one-rooted belief system, this problem can be solved only partly: the pairs of god-like beings/guardian spirits and their initiated can together be determined only in several marginal cases and on unsure assumptions. These pairs can be characterized either by a special form of connection between the supernatural and the human world or by the special combination of different ways of communication.

The “taken-away”, the “light-shadowed ones” and the fairy heaven

Firstly, we have to deal with the type of contact which is characteristic not only of certain mediator types and of man – fairy relations but which is of a more general and archaic form than the above: this is the “*taking away*” of *living people by the dead*. This, through the death aspect of the fairies, is characteristic both of the man – fairy relations and of the deliberate mediator activity of the fairy magicians. The rich belief material – how the fairies “take people away” – appears in belief legends well known throughout the region. The meaning of “taking away” is, according to the archaic dual system: those who get into a supernatural/death place/forbidden time will actually belong “there” from that time on: so the fairies (who represent the dead) will take them away, i.e. they will die. This “being taken away” can be a “real death”; here one of the known explanations of death is: “he or she was taken away by the fairies”. Those who are taken away by the (storm demon) fairies appearing in the air/ in the whirlwind join the “souls” who reside and proceed in the air and in the wind, i.e. get to these souls’ “temporary” residence (the archaic place “preceding the other world”)¹⁵³; so in this sense they get to the other world just like those who join either the “unbaptized” demons (also

having storm-demon characteristics) or the procession of the dead led by the *Perchtas*.

The case of being taken away either by the “unbaptized”, the *Wilde Jagd*, etc. or by the ambivalent fairies, whose “death side” is common with the former, coincides with the general (Indo-European) views stressing the “Nachzehrer” nature of those who, after an “abnormal” death, become demons. According to this view, those who are “taken away” become demons similar to those who took them away, i.e. the dead “without status” take away the living without status (the unbaptized, the women in childbed). The living “without status” are quasi dead and that is why they can easily be taken away. These views coincide with the beliefs where – in accordance with the dual system of time and space – those who are born at a non-human = death time, when the demons appear, are “taken away” and become evil demons after their death.¹⁵⁴

In the beliefs concerning those “taken away” by the fairies, a temporary/transitional stay in the other world is also known: the person taken away temporarily dies then “comes back” and – according to the beliefs – “brings with him- or herself” diseases which belong to the sphere of the other world/death. A well-known group of legends refers to the punishment of those who violate the “boundaries”. Fairies carry away those who work on their days, who accidentally come across their springs, crossroads or a whirlwind, who go outdoors at night, or who overhear them by chance. Those who fall asleep at night, or at noon, under their trees, on the balk, or in a ditch they “pick up”, carry them away into an eddy, into a whirlwind, “they lift people up so that their bones become sprained”, they keep their victims stretching and rolling and they throw them from mountain to mountain. The “taken away” persons will either die or get home “ruined”, ill. A characteristic, recurrent motif referring to a temporary “fall-out” from human space and time is that the fairies make people lose their way, “lead them away”, or if the people return, they find themselves in strange places. On the basis of our data, the fairies of each of the Balkan peoples – except the *iele* – take away children too. These children die, i.e. they are brought up by the fairies in their other-worldly homes, or they are found some days later in a different place, e.g. on the top of a hill.¹⁵⁵

From the beliefs sporadically well known throughout the Balkans and referring to those who can communicate with the fairies and other supernatural beings unpunished, we may draw the conclusion that “being taken away” – as a temporary or an ultimate death – originally means the temporary or final other-worldly stay of the soul separated from the body. According to these data the spotless, the innocent, children, the old and the sick may see the fairies, touch their “objects”, etc. without punishment.¹⁵⁶ This means these are the people who still/already (or throughout their lives) do not actually belong to this world, they are quasi-dead even in their lives, they rather belong “there” so they are allowed and have the right to get acquainted with the other world. The Greeks – according to Blom’s data – call them “light shadowed/minded ones” (*elaphroiskiotos/elaphroistichos*). These persons are childish from

birth, they easily contract diseases, and they are particularly exposed to the danger of meeting the *nereids* and other kinds of *exotica* ("those from outside"). They are "struck" or "carried away" even if they do not get into forbidden places, they easily lose consciousness and often have religious visions. The living ones must not see the other world but the light-shadowed ones may know it, because their cleanness saves them from danger, because they are blessed with divine power, because they are close to death. Beside those chosen from birth, the same is true of women until the 40th day after childbirth (until their churching woman-initiation), the women in childbed, the new-married women, the dangerously ill, the very old or the unbaptized new-borns, i.e. those "without status", the quasi-dead mentioned above, or those very close to death who are already entering into the secret: before their eyes appear their dead relatives and other representatives of the other world. According to Greek data, the dead also have a "light shadow".¹⁵⁸ In the case of the dead, this light shadow obviously stands for the soul that departs from the body at the moment of death. This assumption is also proven by the beliefs related to the taking away of the "unbaptized" by the demons.¹⁵⁹ As a logical consequence, the taking away of the "living" light-shadowed ones, their ability to look into the other world also mean the "travelling" of the soul separated from the body.

All the data concretely referring to the technique of "taking away" speak about the soul descending from the body, rising up into the air and being carried away by the wind. A good example of this: "Whirlwinds, storms are the sisters of the samovile, who at the samovile's request, kidnap women and take them up to the samovile, to the mountains."¹⁶⁰ These beliefs suggest the assumption that the notion of the soul's being taken away originally belongs to the storm-demonic features of the fairies; or, going back to the very roots, it comes from the archaic image of souls dwelling in the storm/wind.

As far as "transitory death" and "temporary soul journeys" are concerned, they, according to several beliefs, mean *initiation*; if someone has ever looked into the other world, – e.g. has seen the fairies who must not be seen by any living person, – from that time on he/she is considered to be initiated, has the right to get acquainted with the other world; this person becomes a mediator who, during his initiation, has experienced the moments of death and rebirth. The *light-shadowed* ones can "see" the fairies and can communicate with them.¹⁶¹ Those who have a "light shadow" from birth are, so to say, potential mediators between the living and the dead/the fairies. While the mediators can be characterized by their ability to form connections and to communicate deliberately, in the case of the "taken away", beliefs on their unintended, forced "initiation" are also well-known (this might be the result of a loss of function and of a secondary fading). In this context the motif of "dismemberment and recomposition" – well known from shaman initiations – may appear as – presumably secondarily – the punishment of the trespassers of the boundaries. The *iele* take out a piece of bone (to replace a stake or a wheel spoke) from the leg of those who step in

their “circle”, interfere with their feasts or lie in the way of their carts. One year later, at the same place – in the mythical place and time continuous in recurrence – they put back the removed bones.¹⁶² A parallel to these *iele* beliefs is an Austrian legend about those who have a hook cut into their legs if, on Twelfth Night, they get in the way of the *Wilde Jagd*, or the *Perchtas*.¹⁶³ Here the motif of “dismemberment” is (already?) not clear, but the fact that this belongs presumably to the same circle of motifs is shown by the related Tyrolese legends which also speak about the “real” dismemberment of those who get in the *Perchtas*’ way (they wake up after their bodies have been put together).¹⁶⁴

Initiation as a “punishment” is obviously a secondary development and a secondary integration into the beliefs of the taboos of place and time of the dead/the fairies. Unfortunately, on the basis of my scarce data, I cannot answer the question of whether “temporary” travels in the other world and temporary carrying away of the soul did exist primarily, independently of initiation or not, and whether this archaic technique of communication with the fairies and with the dead in general fundamentally contained the duality: the negative aspect of bringing illness from the real or symbolic other world of the dead/the demons beside the acquisition of positive knowledge. On the other hand, another kind of duality is clear in the beliefs of “taking away”: its technique as an act of initiation is the same as “taking someone away into death”. While the former is related to “positive” supernatural beings, the latter is connected with “negative” beings, with the “evil demons”. In the case of ambivalent figures like the fairies, the storm-demon guardian spirits or the groups of spirits led by the *Perchtas*, both aspects of “taking away” are present: this explains several ambivalent beliefs where “taking away” has both positive and negative aspects, where expressions like “she has been taken away” or “she joined them”, etc. have two meanings: those who get in the way of the demons or the fairies, those who were born in “critical” time, and the unbaptized may die, may be transformed into evil demons or become initiated wizards.

The positive aspect of being taken away by the fairies can be found mainly in legends about men enchanted by dancing and singing. In these legends we find – maybe as a surviving tradition of the cult of “dancing Artemis” and Dionysos – an element of the ecstatic happiness of the *menads* carried away by the *nymphs*; the “*nympholeptos*” state. The ecstatic happiness is an additional element, a surplus here, compared with being carried away by the dead/the storm demons. This Dionysian enchantment by ecstatic dancing originally means: being possessed by the divinity.¹⁶⁵ According to Eliade, the Rumanian *zînitec* term refers to this state of mind, to those who are possessed and unhinged by the nymph fairies.¹⁶⁶ (Here we have to mention that among the “fairy diseases” a great number of illnesses are described as “he has gone mad/his mind is unhinged”.) An archaic Hungarian example of the “*nympholeptos*” state and the *zînitec* type of carrying away was published by Salamon (according to present beliefs *zînitec* can be both male and female): the legend is about a young man who was carried

away by the dancing of three *szépasszonys* (the informant tells the beginning of the story at the end): "He began to sing the song of the *szépasszonys* because it was beautiful". The beginning of the legend: "... with a whistling wind came three women... they were as beautiful as the sunbeams – oh, happy world! – and they made him dance, dance and dance without end. ... the man collapsed. Then he collapsed. Well, but he could not say a word... He was ill, ill, he could do nothing but pant... He had already no sense to do anything. His sense has already left him..."¹⁶⁷

Beside, or instead of the element of possession, the legends on carrying away with music and dance also contain the idea of *going to the other world*: those who are carried away get into the "heaven of the fairies": to their castles standing on mountains or to their symbolic other worlds which are at different places in nature (e.g. at the top of a tree) or to groups of fairies dancing in the air. As is clearly expressed in the legends, they get to these places by "soul journeys" while sleeping or in ecstasy: the man carried away by the fairies' song cannot resist the temptation: the fairies can take him away for several days, they "do harm to him", they ruin him, the victim "loses his strength" (i.e. becomes impotent), "he is put to shame"; fairies often fly away with him, he "goes with them" for three days, then he gets home ruined and ill.¹⁶⁸

All the peoples of the Balkans know beliefs about lads who are carried away to serve the fairies as musicians. Here the Rumanian material seems to be the richest. During the fairy feasts music is always provided by earthly men: "fairies gather the most skillful musicians in the world". The young shepherds are carried away to serve as pipers or fluters. They are carried off to the fairies' "dwelling places among the mountains", to their feasts held in their palaces and gardens: these young men disappear for several days, then they are found ruined, half-dead, often at remote, strange places. Once there was a piper who served the *iele*, and "went with them" for nine years.¹⁶⁹ This legendary, fairy other world often appears as a desired world, a "heaven": the men carried away by attractive fairies take part in fairy feasts of erotic pleasures and ecstatic dances; the children taken away by the fairies are also "kept well". These are the words of a Croatian piper carried away by the *vile*: "There were dancing, wine, hard drinks, everything. There was everything there, abundantly. I had to play them music."¹⁷⁰ The idea of this happy other world where earthly wishes may come true also appears among the different explanations of "real" death: those who disappear, or the children who ultimately die practically do not die "because they are taken away by the *nereids*".¹⁷¹

Accordingly here, the archaic beliefs of the soul taken away by the dead/the demons are mixed with the Dionysian ecstasy of dancing and singing and with the idea of getting into a happy other world. We do not know when and how the "desire-world heaven" became part of the Dionysian ecstasy. However, according to Nilsson, in the Hellenistic age Dionysian mysticism already contained the important element of "happy disappearance" in another world which – under the influence of orphic

doctrines – became “heavenly” and was full of Aphrodite’s pleasures.¹⁷² Accordingly, we may possibly find the origin of the ecstatic soul journeys of the carried-away-ones – together with other traditions of dancing ecstasy – in the traditions of the Dionysian cult surviving in the Balkans. The memory of the dancing ecstasy connected with other-worldly soul journeys can be found in expressions like the one cited in the above Hungarian legend: “his sense has already left him”, or in a Hungarian idiom expressing very quick movement, dance or running: “lélekszakadva” (adv.; word-by-word translation: [so fast that] “his soul was torn out”). Or in a legend from Taktaszada: “the one who was carried away from the road by the young ladies at midnight had to dance with them for an hour and a half so fast that his soul was almost torn off”.¹⁷³

“Carrying away” by dance – either possession, or soul journey – means in all cases establishing contact with the other world, with the divinity. Accordingly it is obvious that elements referring to “initiation” also appear in the above-mentioned legends, mainly in the ones about the carried-away musicians. The piper who is forced to take part in the *iele*’s dance becomes “learned”: the master of his instrument; the piper of the *vile* also obtains his knowledge from the fairies. When a fluter becomes initiated, the *iele* first “enchant him with their songs”, then carry him away while he is sleeping, and in return for the “gift of the song” he has to give them a part of his body, or they “take his little finger” because “he has taken their song”.¹⁷⁴ In the light of the data mentioned formerly and referring to the removal of bones from the body, it is possible that tearing off limbs in return for “knowledge” ties in with the first belief and refers to the initiatory dismemberment of the body.

Of course, the legends of the “learned musicians” do not reflect a previous mediator practice. But the knowledge of playing an instrument as the object and the aim of “other-worldly initiation” shows the importance of music and dance in the cults of Dionysos, Artemis and other ancestors of the fairy world. The fact that both these legends (which often appear in witch beliefs, as well) and the beliefs of men being carried away by music and dance describe a desired “fairy” world, might have played an important role in the survival of these legends and beliefs right up to the present day.¹⁷⁵

Witch feasts in the fairy heaven

The beliefs about people “taken away” by fairies enriched the demonic side of the Hungarian witch to a large extent. In the Hungarian *szépasszony* and witch beliefs we can find rich data both on their original and secondary variants. On the other hand, the beliefs about people taken away to the company and the feasts of the fairies were important mythical precedents of the *witch-company* notions.

The beliefs speaking about people carried away by the *szépasszony* usually express punishment for trespassing the boundaries between two

worlds. An example from Gyimes: "... Before St. George's Day it is not good to lie down [outdoors] because the *szépasszony* may carry people away... because that is her time. They say a man lay down and so he was carried far away, up to the hills. When he woke up he did not know where he was."¹⁷⁶ The "punishment of the violators of the boundaries" – keeping the traditional place and time framework – could develop into a witch belief almost without any change. For instance, according to the testimony of a witch trial in 1671, somebody was "picked up" by the witch in the street at about one o'clock (midday fairy-time); the witches flew away with him to the fields, then to a high mountain, where he was tormented.¹⁷⁷ The same is true in the case of "taking out the bones", which is (already?) known in Balkan fairy belief as the punishment of the trespassers of the boundary. For example, according to the reports of a witch trial in Kiskunhalas in 1751, the witches take out the bones of those who fall asleep outdoors on Whitsun night, at "fairy time",¹⁷⁸ or, according to another trial in 1728, in Szeged, the witches took out the bones of someone who had fallen asleep in a ravine.¹⁷⁹

When the carrying away by the fairies is transformed into witch belief, it often loses the bartering relations of the dual system, by "universalizing" the harm-doing and by degradation of the carrying away into ontotelic harm-doing: "Others she took to her dwelling place, made them dance and they became lame for life. Then the witches lifted her up into the air and then dropped her on the top of a high rock, on the edge of a precipice or in the middle of a dark forest."¹⁸⁰ When "carrying away" is no more the punishment for violating the boundaries but serves as a revenge in the conflict between two persons, "carrying away by the fairies" can take place between the framework of customary witchcraft conflicts. A characteristic example: "This Bana (who was considered the witch of the village) was on bad terms with her neighbour... once she turned on this woman and took her child away. She took the child away and kept him in the air for three days..."¹⁸¹

The legends of men and musicians forced to dance preserved the expression of a sexual desire world so characteristic of the Balkan fairy legends; but the erotic affair is often just a "bewitching": (He is dancing with a witch) "and then she makes fun of the man... Either she makes his mind dull or takes his strength away..." or the witch "... enticed the young man into the reeds along the brook, where she made him fall asleep and then ruined him, took his strength away..."¹⁸² The fairy temptress becomes a human being often preserving this erotic aspect, she "abases herself" to turn into an earthly woman, a woman from the village known as a witch. In a legend from Karcsa the fairy who took the shape of a goose becomes known as a girl from the village, who is in love with the enchanted man and wants him to marry her.¹⁸³

In Hungarian folk belief the best-known legends are the ones about men who were carried away to serve as *musicicians*, both in their "original" forms and in a wide range of "bewitched" variants. As Manga writes in his study on pipers: "there are several versions of stories about the feasts and dances of the witches where the piper always had a role."¹⁸⁴ The

testimonies of witch trials already sometimes report that the injured was carried away to play the bagpipe or a flute at witch feasts. For instance, according to a trial held in Bihar county, the fluter who joined "that devilish company" had to sit in a swallow's nest for three days and blow his whistle for the dancing witches (his small size indicates the "other-worldly" character of his enchantment).¹⁸⁵

The legends of those who are carried away by fairies or witches often preserve memories of feast held in fairies' "other worlds"; on hilltops, on the tops of trees or in stormy wind. Beside the ecstatic music and dance, we also find motifs referring to "other-worldly journeys" in dream. According to one Moldavian legend, for instance, a man was taken away on a reed stem while he was sleeping at night and they danced with him in a briar." Or: "... at night he was going home and these witches arrived together and took him away while playing music, up from ditches and across the water, and so they played music. When he was sleeping somebody was speaking, somebody shouted at him: 'Come on, Jóska, come on, let's get out of here!' ..." (When he came to life again, he found himself in deep water.)¹⁸⁶ The motifs of an unbalanced mind, the "falling out" of place and time refer at the same time both to the other-world character of the fairy, and witch dance and to the madness of the Dionysian ecstasy that forces a man to dance: those who are enchanted and carried away go mad, lose their way, when they wake up they find themselves in strange places or just go madly round and round.¹⁸⁷

Beside the survival of the positive desire world of the fairy heaven, a more regular process (and more characteristic of "bewitchization") took place: the "fairy heaven" – losing its original other-worldliness – has become a mere deception. That is how an injured woman carried away by fairies reports on her "other-worldly adventure" at a witch trial in Kiskunhalas: "but my dress was nice, and it was fine and beautiful to be there... because we ate and drank there, if only we could eat and drink so much now." "You just dreamed these things," says her godmother – and dreaming does not mean here the experience of the other world in the former sense, but simply a witching-devilish deception.¹⁸⁸ But even in the context of devilish deception we often find fragments of other-worldly experiences of those carried away by the fairies and an abstract other-world symbolism expressed by elements of place and time. According to a testimony at a trial in Szentes in 1732: During the "feast" at a hill – where they were always eating and drinking from silver and gold dishes but never had enough – "everything seemed to be only shadow, the feast seemed to have lasted for a long time though it actually ended very soon."¹⁸⁹ A fairly similar process is shown by the data about delusion, by producing the "heavenly" requisites of witch feasts, as well as those about the changing of these requisites into valueless objects.¹⁹⁰ These data are rather illuminative, even if they have been inserted into the "bewitchization" process of the fairy heaven as international witch-legend motifs, as external proof.¹⁹¹ The scene might also refer to a fairy-heaven origin. For instance: "the castle stood among poplars reaching up to the sky... They were dressed in wonderful clothes, they were flying

and dancing in brilliant daylight"; then they get doughnuts which soon change into horse shit, the castle disappears and they are led home by two big dogs."¹⁹² We can also find quite similar motifs in the legends of the carried-away pipers: in the morning the piper, instead of having been introduced to the art of music, finds himself on top of a tree (at the scene of the former fairy feast) with a dead dog instead of his nice bagpipe.¹⁹³

The other world of the fairy feasts was an important source of semihumanized, incomplete other-worldliness – that specifically combines the everyday environment with other-world symbols – of the Hungarian witch feasts. In connection with the notions of *witch companies*, the appearance of *fairies in groups* is an important factor. Moreover, this might have served as a basis for the ideas of how the "members" of the company were recognized by each other at the assemblies. This is proved expressively by a Hungarian legend from Moldavia, describing the Rumanian belief mentioned above (the fairies gather the best musicians in the world for their feasts): The gathered musicians know each other very well, but they – just like after witch assemblies – must not confess who they met: "... there came whistling, a stormy wind, and the stormy wind caught him. He was put into a basket and taken to the top of a very high mountain near Bákó. When he was put down there, he found there musicians from every village. There was a piper among them, the witches took him away in the same way. He met there a good friend from Kákova, but there were also some from Nagypatak, Gyószén, Gejcsána, Nyetres. The piper might have come from Lábníyk. It could not be revealed, if he dared to tell who took him, he would have been torn off – the woman told him."¹⁹⁴

Fairy magicians and healers

It seems from my few data that healers who could communicate with fairies by means of *regular other-worldly soul journeys* were active in the whole territory of the Balkans.

The most detailed description of *initiatory enchantment and carrying away* can be found in the publication of Marienescu dealing with Transylvanian Rumanians. According to this, only that healer (*descantatore*) is able to cure the "fairy illnesses" and offer fairy sacrifices who "collapses", "is carried away"; who lies unconscious for hours or days while his or her soul is with the fairies: the soul flies with them, dances with them, stays with them, and they teach him or her how to do different types of magic and how to offer curing sacrifices. The initiated must not speak about the dance and the feast of the fairies or else he or she will lose his or her power and the fairies will have their revenge.¹⁹⁵

The main point in initiation is learning how fairy illnesses can be cured: according to Vlachos, many Greek healers learned their curing from the *nereids*.¹⁹⁶ Bulgarian data refer to women who, at night, by the riverside

or near shallow waters, meet the *samodivas*, who teach them how to use the various herbs (the Bulgarian healers of fairy illnesses are called *samovildžiti*). Other Bulgarian data throw light on the real meaning of these “night meetings”: Strausz reports on healers who “lie in delirium and meanwhile they get knowledge of different other-worldly medicines.”¹⁹⁷ A fairy legend from Dalmatia (which, in this form, already contains several elements of witch beliefs) says: “When the child was seven, one night there came 12 witches and a wizard on a yellow cart, and they stole this feverish child, and in their fairy cart they took him up to the sky, to the Arsanj mountain” ... then “they took him home in order that the child cure the ill.”¹⁹⁸ It is possible that such initiatory soul journeys also contained the motifs of dismemberment and recomposition already mentioned in another context: “the fairies killed Djuro, the seer, on the Vele bit mountain, then they revived him, giving him power.”¹⁹⁹

According to Croatian and Bulgarian data, the wizards, after their initiatory soul journeys, kept regular contact with the fairies: in Bukovica “some persons are known to have gone with the fairies for so and so many years, not continuously but a few times a year: they disappeared and nobody knew or heard where they had gone. When they returned, people knew that they had been with the fairies, because those who are taken away by the fairies are sure to have certain abilities and the fairies force them to stay with them. Such persons later on know all the herbs and they are called a man or a woman “from fairy land” (“s vilovske strane”).²⁰⁰ From Karlovac we have data that refer to such – male or female – healers who “served the mountain fairies for four years”, who taught them how to use the different herbs, but in return these people are bound to visit the fairies from time to time, and to inform them “how the poor peasants are getting on.”²⁰¹

In present Hungarian folk beliefs we do not find any traces referring to active fairy magicians. Nevertheless, in the light of the above data the woman accused at a witch trial at Eger in 1720 can be described as a fairy magician, moreover, as a close relative to the Balkan healers. In her confession the accused speaks about her other-worldly initiation, where she “got the knowledge”. Up till now, scholars considered this woman “who was carried away for nine days” as *táltos*, because of her soul journey in trance (*révílész*).²⁰² But the motif of fighting in animal shape (so characteristic of the Hungarian *táltos*) is missing from the woman’s other-world journey: instead, she is taken away to another world very similar to the beautiful heaven of the fairy magicians: she stays there and from God she gets the knowledge to cure.

We have more and clearer data on the fairy magicians’ curing practice (that have survived up to the present day) than on the magician’s initiation, on their contact-making through soul journeys (that are mostly legendary traditions only). Our Greek, Serbian and Albanian data show that these magicians, during their curing practice, make contact with their fairy patronesses, can conjure them up in “fairy time”, in “fairy places” or by symbolically setting up the fairy “other world”: at crossroads, under fairy trees, by drawing reverse circles, etc. Symbolically setting up the fairy

places is equivalent to the arrival at the fairies' "places": when they stand in the circle drawn around themselves, they already "belong there", they are "initiated", they can communicate with the fairies. Actually, this is the positive variant of "being carried away by the dead" (which is the "trespassers' punishment"). This is a quasi abstract, symbolic way of consciously making contacts, where the fairies' dead aspect is predominant. A Greek magician called Mantheos, for instance, "can gather them at midnight and learn from them why they have struck a villager with paralysis or muteness... and require them to withdraw or recapture the blow..."²⁰³ An Albanian woman healer takes her patient to a deserted place, makes him or her dress in white and kneel down in the middle of a previously drawn circle, and welcomes the fairies. They then wait in total silence, while the woman watches for secret signs. Then she says good-night to the fairies and leads the patient along the circle the other way round, etc.²⁰⁴ Fairy illnesses were usually cured at the same place where the patient had been harmed, i.e. where fairies regularly appeared, after a year or a week, on the same day or on the next day at the same hour; i.e. where and when the continuity of mythical time – the possibility of communication with the other world – was ensured. For instance, the child whom the *samodivas* made ill under the eaves is put under the eaves again, or the person who was hit by the *nerheids* must sleep a year later at the same hour at the same place, etc.²⁰⁵

The *sacrifices* known mainly in the Orthodox (Serbian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Greek) territories are offered in order to cure fairy illnesses or (if taboo areas are violated) to prevent such illnesses. If the exact place is unknown, the rites are performed at the usual fairy places: at crossroads, trees, springs or wells, often at characteristic times of their appearance, e.g. at noon. The sacrificial meal is usually bread or milk, bread and salt as well as honey, other kinds of sweets and milk, sometimes only bread and water.²⁰⁶ As we have already mentioned, these sacrifices are in a certain sense imitations of the imaginary, fertility-ensuring "dinners" of the fairies (and vice-versa); on the other hand, they are very similar to the death sacrifices given on the commemorative services of the dead and to the Orthodox methods of "dead feeding". According to Greek data published by Lawson, a white tablecloth is laid under the tree where the fairies do harm, they put plates, bread, honey, wine, knife, fork and glass on it and light candles as in graveyards on the feasts of the dead.²⁰⁷ The fairy sacrifice near the *iele's* spring is also similar to the *pomana*: onto the white tablecloth laid on the ground they put "white" (death) meals: egg, milk, cheese, a killed white hen, and they offer these to everybody passing by.²⁰⁸ Such "white", "clean" sacrifices (egg, white hen, flour, salt) can be offered to the fairies at the house of the ill, as well: this is done on Wednesday or on Friday after sunset by nine women, walking nine times round the house and casting a spell nine times over the sick.²⁰⁹

Lawson called attention to the similarity between the Greek tradition of sacrifices offered to the fairies at crossroads and the sacrifices (well-known until the early Middle Ages) performed in honour of Hekate.

However, this latter one – in keeping with the devilish character of Hekate – was a “black sacrifice” (it involved the killing of a black dog and a black sheep).²¹⁰ This devil-Hekate line appears – influencing in other ways, too, the death aspect of the fairies – in the “black sacrifice” given to the “evil fairies”, in contrast to the above Rumanian “white sacrifice”.²¹¹ Otherwise, the ways in which the healers conjured the fairies up at crossroads might have been influenced both by the invoking methods related to the infernal Hekate appearing also at the crossroads and later by the rites of the learned magic to conjure up Hekate and the “devilish Diana”.²¹²

It is easily possible – although, due to lack of data, it cannot be proven with certainty – that beliefs like the body-departing soul and soul journeys in the other world also belonged to the contacts made in these “symbolic other worlds”,²¹³ that these methods of reproducing the other world served in fact as the ritual bases or frames for the “real” contact making. What is obvious on the basis of our data is the quasi formation of connections; its imitation of such ritual frames.

To sum up, we may say that most probably an originally much more complex material of traditions characterizes *the* fairy magicians, the initiated of the dancing, music-playing and fertility-bringing fairies – traditions that survive only fragmentarily in our present-day data. The wish dream-like other world with music and dancing, the learning of healing and offering sacrifices to the fairies, the participation in other-world fairy feasts as a kind of “initiation” are all characteristic features of the connections between fairy magicians and fairies even in the folk beliefs of modern times. However, further research will have to decide whether, where, and to what extent the ecstasy with music and dancing, the Dionysian enchantment, was a real part of the healer’s practice. That it really was part of it is made probable by its surviving role in the practice of the *călușari* and the *rusalia*.

In the eastern – Orthodox – territories of the Balkan peninsula the everyday role of “fairy magician” as the healer (usually the healer woman) of a given community has been taken over by the Rumanian *călușari* and the related Serbian and Bulgarian *rusalia* in the period of the fairies’ appearance, i.e. in Rusalia Week preceding Whitsun and in other periods between Easter and Whitsun.²¹⁴ Beside their curing practice – which is very similar to that of the everyday fairy magicians’ – their role is much more complex. On the level of ritual representation they, as the initiated of the fertility-ensuring fairies, also have the role of fertility magicians in a given community. Their festive rites, where they appear in different masks, contain archaic elements of fairy beliefs irretractable in any other form. The *călușari*, a group of 11, the *rusalia* a group of 3, 7, or 11 men are, according to certain data, partonized by *Doamna Zînelor* or *Irodeasa*, whose favour is gained by supplications made during the initiatory oaths and by sacrifices offered during the healing rites. They always take the oath at symbolic “fairy places” – in the quasi other world (e.g. at the boundary of three lands, at a place enclosed by walking the other way round, or at crossroads, etc.). Thus – to use the expression of Kligman

– their temporary supernatural status is indicated.²¹⁵ Those “who have taken the oath” spend the period of preparation at a remote place, subjected to the prohibition to reveal the different taboos and the “secret” of the oath. The leader of the companies is the *vataf* (“captain”); other members also have different military ranks (e.g. lieutenant, adjutant, etc.). The so-called “mute” also has an important role: he takes care of the trouble-makers, but, on the other hand, he may – as a kind of anti-vataf – behave more loosely than the others. The most important element of their rites is their ecstatic or ecstasy-imitating dance round a white flag decorated with rabbit skin, garlic, and herbs. The most significant element in curing is the dance round the sick person. In the dance of the *rusalias*, the “carried away” person (who dances till losing consciousness) can in this condition communicate with the fairies: she/he is possessed by the *vile*, who are present at this time. Recovering consciousness, the possessed person can prophesy and report on the dead. The curative rites of the *rusalia* contain different fairy sacrifices which are placed beside the sick person lying outdoors at night. Certain dances of the *călușari* and of the *rusalia* are expressively fertility-magic dances. Their groups, going around from house to house, were always welcome and their dance was considered to bring fortune. In Northern Bulgaria people considered that the village or the family they visited would have good luck and a rich crop.²¹⁶ The *călușari* also performed dramatic plays, death and resurrection plays and dramatized battles between nations. When the groups of two villages met at the boundary of their settlements, they usually began a fight, which was often in the nature of ritual battle for fertility: according to the beliefs, the crop of the conquering group was abundant in the coming year. Eliade stresses that the *călușari* with their dances, curative and fertility rites – from a certain point of view – imitate fairies and their behaviour,²¹⁷ while, on the other hand, they have horse attributes as well, in spite of the fact that fairies are “afraid of horses”: the most important preventive means against fairies is a horse’s skull.²¹⁸ Their possible horse masks, their horse-headed sticks used as phallic symbols, or the names of the first two dancers, presumably meaning “horse” or “little horse” (*căluș*)²¹⁹ all stress their horse character. But if we think of the performance of the *călușari* attached to the winter solstice,²²⁰ of the related Rumanian *turka*-procession, also during the winter solstice, or of the Bulgarian carnival (i.e. Lenten) *kukeri*²²¹ (another tradition related to the former), we have to say that the *călușari* wearing the masks of horses, goats, etc., beside their function as mediators, and the representatives of fairies were, at the same time, the representatives of the “winter demons”, the *karakondzuli*, the *St. Theodore’s horses*, the wolf and horse demons and the dead symbolized by them. If we can trust the report of Beza, we can also say that the Rumanians of Macedonia relate the performance of the *călușari* exactly to the appearance of the *karakondzuli* between Christmas and New Year.²²² Senn counts the masked figures of the *călușari* among the wolf, horse etc. masked representatives of the dead returning home at the time of the winter solstice (moreover, he considers midwinter their “chief” period, as is in

the case with their West-European parallel, the *moreska*).²²³ On the other hand, the opposition of the dead and the fertility-bringing fairies and goddesses is not exclusive: fairies are in one of their aspects themselves returning dead; while the winter demons and, especially, the St. Theodore's horses also originally had a fertility-bringing role.

The same dual representation is true of the masked processions – less known than the *călușari* – performed on Drăgăica Day (24th June). On this day, the day of “good” fairies called *sînzienne*, in several places in Rumania girls considering themselves the representatives of the *sînzienne* and wearing chaplets and pretty clothes visit people's homes blowing whistles and dancing. These “fairy troops” fight with the groups of girls wearing men's clothes and armed with scythes at the crossroads or at the boundary of two villages; or – according to other data – pairs of girls dressed as fairies or “devilish” boys with scythes in their hands dance with each other.²²⁴ These ritual dances and battles between the *sînzienne* appearing at the summer solstice and the “devilish” winter demons express the opposition between light and darkness, summer and winter in which, perhaps, the ambivalency in se of the twofaced fertility/death demons/divinities is also expressed. This is the same phenomenon as that present in the *iele-sântoaderi* dance, in the beliefs of the black-white “St. Theodore's horses” and of *Perchtenlaufen*, or in the masked rites of the light-dark *Lucias* and the nice-ugly *Perchtas*. In case of the fertility fights between two villages²²⁵ and the battles between two nations imitated in the plays of the *călușari* (and *kukeri*), the contrasted principles can be described with the opposition of *own people* – *alien people*. The same opposition can be found in the notions related to the origin of the winter demons, where members of one's own tribe are regarded as human beings and members of other tribes as non-human beings. This distinction is manifest in the *light-dark* battles: light = own people/human, dark = alien people/non-human.

Though the masked groups of the *călușari* and the *rusalia* also play the role of the community's fertility magicians with their fertility rites, they are, through their curing rites and the related ecstatic music and dance – i.e. through their ability to communicate with the fairies – primarily *fairy magicians* in the above sense.²²⁷ One of the roots of the *călușari*'s fertility rites accompanied by dancing ecstasy can be found in the Artemis/Diana cult of Asia Minor and Thracia. Fragments of this – according to Nilsson – survived mainly in peasant traditions.²²⁸ Another important ancient root is the death-aspect cult of Dionysos, which survived long in the territory of what is now Thracia. In this latter cult the dancing ecstasy, the *mainesthai* state – when the possessed identifies him-/herself with the divinity – played an important role.²²⁹ Nilsson considers the Bulgarian *kukeri* plays surviving to the present day the most important inheritors of this cult. Thinking of the features that relate the latter to the *călușari* plays, we can assume that the roots of the *călușari* plays must partly be traced back to the same origin. In connection with other, probably surviving traditions of the Dionysos cult, it is worth mentioning the *speiras*, the units of Hellenistic dionysias with their military

structure: its officials, who organized several processions and banquets, were often mentioned in different notes from Thracia and Dacia. But beside the military ranks, there were different presidents, vine-dressers and chefs, there were persons who played the role of “horses” (representing Silenos) and “mutes” who swore to silence and took care of order, etc.²³⁰ It is challenging to suppose a relation with the military ranks of the *călușari* and even with their horse figures, as well. On the other hand, the rites of the *călușari* influenced the fairy beliefs: for instance, we may rightly assume a ritual origin to the military structure and ranks of the Rumanian fairy queen’s troops. For example, the army of the fairy queen is led by a flag bearer or a piper. The *vataf* belonging to the troop can, at the same time, be a piper and the leader of the troop, the “chief” of the feast. According to certain data they also had coachmen, heralds and lieutenants in their troops, and on their feasts a gate keeper stood sentry.²³¹ The image of little bells and chaplets worn by the *iele/vile* was probably also influenced by such masked representations; moreover, it is also possible to find relics of the dancing-masked groups’ procession in the legendary representation of fairies proceeding and dancing from one house to the other.

Fertility magicians

As was already mentioned in the introduction, the thought of a possible meeting of the Slavic and East-European tradition of other-worldly battles and the Balkan fairy mythology came up in connection with the wizards of the NW Balkans, who were born with a caul and had shamanistic capacities (in the other world they fought for their communities’ fertility in animal forms).²³² According to this assumption, the initiated and the mediators of the *vile* (as chthonic goddesses) are these wizards born with a caul. This pair – if such a pair exists at all – is analogous (with the additional feature of shamanistic fights) to the pair of *Perchta/Holda/Frau Saelde* and the type of *benandanti* who join the “death procession” of these mythical beings. This parallel is also interesting in connection with the similar features of *Perchta/Holda*, etc. (as death and fertility goddess-like beings), and of the Balkan fairies: whether these similarities mean a historical connection and further common roots beside or instead of the Artemis/Diana features and the Illyrian intermediary role supposed by Liungman. We have to see what conclusions can be drawn in this respect from the data on the fairies taking care of a community’s fertility, ensuring good weather and patronizing the community’s wizards.

In general, two different types of such wizards can be distinguished. One of them is represented by the *kresnik/krsnik*.²³³ The *kresnik* is born with a caul. Due to the power this gives him, his soul leaves his body, assumes an animal shape in the other world and there fights with another animal soul: their fight is a duel between light and dark animals. In this

respect of the *kresnik* we do not know about the existence of any fairy guardian spirits. In an indirect way we can assume that this kind of wizard had connections with *animal-shaped guardian spirits*. As mentioned above, the storm-demon dragon snake, the *zmej* ("snake") – as an animal ancestor – in the other-worldly fights supports his "son", the *zmej/zmaj* wizard, born from a snake father and/or with a caul. These fights are equivalent to the heavenly sky fights of the dragon-snake storm demons as guardian spirits protecting the weather of their villages or tribes.²³⁴ Contrary to the otherwise similar *zduhač* battles (to be mentioned later), the fight is not here between the soul troops of wizards; it is an individual fight: the soul of a human *zmej* (assuming snake or lizard forms) fights against the similarly animal-shaped "evil" dragon attacking his tribe, i.e. against the "good" (animal) guardian spirit's negative counterpart. In the figure of the *zmej* wizard we can obviously find the positive *werewolf*, or *werewolf wizard* who has shamanistic power and who is represented by the magician called Thiess in the afore-mentioned werewolf trial held in Livland in 1691, and who is described by Jakobson-Szeftel as the hero of the 12th century Vseslav epos.²³⁵ Presumably, the figure of the positive werewolf magician is present in all the cases when a wizard with shamanistic power – on the analogy of the *zmej* battles – is opposed to an "evil" animal guardian spirit, to the above-mentioned *werewolf* or a *werewolf demon*, and assuming the shape of a similar animal he fights an other-worldly battle with him. See, for instance, the fight of the *kresnik* against the *kudlak/vukodlak*. In this battle the *kresnik* – who "protects people from the strigo and the fudlak"²³⁶ – has the role of the werewolf wizard while his enemy, the *kudlak*, etc. is the werewolf demon. Similar counterparts can be found in the fights between two *vedomeces* or two *vukodlaks*; or in the fight between a *kresnik* and a *witch* where the latter is the inheritor of the demons who steal people's crop and take it away to hell. The mythical images of the stolen crop, the crop obtained "before the right time" or of the crop taken to hell also appear in the legendary compositions of the soul fights, taking place at the time of the crop-stealing werewolf demon's appearance.²³⁷ The legendary scene is very often the crossroad, the symbol of inferno's entrance traditional since Hekate. The battles – in accordance with the enemy's celestial body-eating/stealing nature – are accompanied by the disappearance and the later return of the sun. This means that the conqueror of the werewolf demon is at the same time the "liberator of the sun"; in this sense he is the parallel of the mythical conqueror of crop-stealing, celestial body-eating dragons: the St. George and St. Elias of Balkan folklore.²³⁸ The oppositions of *light-darkness*, *sun-hell* are also expressed in the battle of dark-light animals and in the victory of the light animal.

The strongly stereotyped legends of the *kresnik*'s other-worldly fights do not mention – as they do in connection with the *zmej* – an animal guardian spirit, though it is possible that the data from the Isle of Krk according to which "every tribe has a *kudlak* and a *kresnik*" refer to the existence of such patrons.²³⁹ In the initiatory motifs of the *vedomec* legends an animal spirit (animal soul?)²⁴⁰ appears who calls people on

an other-worldly journey: this being visits people, carries them away, people “must” follow him (at a certain age, or when werewolf demons appear: at new moon, during the last quarter of the moon or between Christmas and Twelfth Night).²⁴¹ On the basis of our rather faded data we cannot decide whether these legends really speak about an animal-shaped ancestor, but it is not impossible. What we can establish from these data with certainty is the connection between this type of wizard born with a caul and guardian spirits appearing in animal form.

The next question is what these data mean: the *kresnik*/*kršnik* is a “relative of the vile” and is “liked by them”, while on the other hand he is the “protector of the village”, he is a mediator between people and the *vile*.²⁴² Here, presumably, we can find a *probratinstvo* connection between individual guardian-spirit fairies fusing with the *moiras* and their patronized: The legendary description of the *kresnik* often intertwines with that fairy-patronized figure – so characteristic of the heroic songs – who makes *probratinstvo* with them and whose name (related to the word *vila*) also expresses this connection.²⁴³ The word *kresnik* meaning “Grenzkämpfer”²⁴⁴ also refers to a heroic epic role;²⁴⁵ the supposed werewolf wizard inherited this name presumably from the heroic epic. The *moira* fairies – especially in Croatia – in their extended role of guardian spirits who take care of the whole community and protect the village from hailstorm as “good women”, can be connected with the community’s wizards as well. A Croatian wizard from the Drava area can – in his own words – “do something for the good weather”: hail did not destroy the village because he prevented it. This person says that “I can speak to them [the vile] whenever I want to”. In the same region the crop is protected from hail by “rangers”. According to a legend from the same area the *vile*, during the harvest, take a handful of corn and see what it is like: if the “ranger” did not take care of it, they punish him.²⁴⁶ This “adviser” role can be a manifestation of the *probratinstvo* connection as well, while the fairy-patronized “ranger” who guards the village against hailstorms might be the *zduhač* type wizard to be mentioned later: the guardian-spirit role of the *moira* fairies must have fused with the figures of storm-demon-fairy guardian-spirits. The mixing of the two systems can be recognized at other points, too: presumably, the *moira* fairies (as adviser guardian spirits in the *zduhačes*’ other-worldly battles) have the role of individual guardian spirits who protect the hero of the fighting clan.²⁴⁷

As far as the *moiras*’ connection with the *kresnik* and the werewolf magicians is concerned, it seems that the *moiras*, as mythical beings who determine the fate of the new-born, can direct *this* fate of the shamanistic wizards as well. According to a note by Burchard von Worms in 1025, the *Parcae* can make the child be born a werewolf.²⁴⁸ In the light of this note we probably can assume that the *midwives* assisting at the birth of the *strigoi*, the Rumanian witch who inherited several features of the werewolf magicians born with a caul – have the characteristics of the fate-determining *moiras*. When a *strigoi* is born, these midwives deal with the caul and they decide what kind of *strigoi* the child must become

– e.g. milk-, or corn-spoiling, – but at the same time the midwives can also assign certain positive activities. Moreover, they can determine the new-born's life as a “seer” as well.²⁴⁹ It does not seem to be impossible that the role of selection by birth or even in the “womb” in connection with the shamanistic wizards can lead us back to the fate-determining *moiras*. The fairies (also with fate-woman characteristics) appearing in the legends of the “enchanted” also inherited this presumable role of the *moiras*. In these legends the enchanted have a threefold sentence. For instance, the *iele* – when they “enchant a person with their songs” – dance around him three times and call a threefold curse down upon him: they curse their victim so that he would go mad, so that he could not dream or find remedy any more.²⁵⁰ Similar legends are well-known in Bulgaria and Croatia, too.²⁵¹ According to a *nereid* legend: if the person whom the *nereids* want to leave his house is unwilling to carry out the command, the *nereids* discuss his further fate: two of them sentence him to drowning, while the third lets him alive.²⁵² If carrying away is a kind of initiation – a symbolic death and rebirth – the appearance of the *moiras* (determining man's fate at birth and on the occasion of transitional rites) in this context – as initiator spirits – is almost self-evident. There is proof in the Hungarian witch legends where *dismemberment* appears in a similar context that this really is a case of initiation.²⁵³ So it seems that the *moiras* could take the place of the shamanistic guardian spirits also as initiator/“calling” spirits.

Another type of fairy – wizard connection can be concluded from the data on the *zduhač*. Contrary to the kresnik, the wizard born with a caul called *zduhač/stuhač/stuha/stuva* and *vjedogonja* does not fight in animal form and the time of his fights – spring and summer storms – does not coincide with the period of the werewolf demons's appearance; the battle here means a fight between two soul troops and not between two single animal souls.²⁵⁴ His name comes from the word *stoicheion* (“shadow”),²⁵⁵ which may perhaps refer both to the soul that is going to leave the body and to the afore-mentioned guardian spirit with a similar name, developing from the “shadow” of men. We can probably assume a connection between the *zduhač* and these, as well as some further storm-demon guardian spirits: the air fights of the *zduhačes* accompanied by meteorological phenomena, the instruments used in their fights are all similar to those of the afore-mentioned storm-demon guardian spirits. Their features connected with *wind*²⁵⁶ and their name, *vjedogonja/jedogonja* (“windy”), relate them with those who are carried away by the storm demons and the souls proceeding in the storm. Contrary to the passive “taken away”, their souls, which leave their bodies when in trance, get to the storm demon spirits' residence or battlefields intentionally: “Everyone whose shadow [soul] is able to fly in the wind while his/her body is left on the earth is a *stuva*.”²⁵⁷ Here the positive side of carrying away by souls proceeding in the air/storm is manifested:²⁵⁸ the soul of the *zduhač* rising in the air gets “to the other world”, where he becomes initiated. From this time on, during storms, the soul of the *zduhač* is able to fly in the air and “to take part” in the

air fights of the storm demons. Having this capacity, the *zduhač/vjedogonja* belongs to the group of East European wizards who are also able to ascend among the souls proceeding in the wind, but he is also a relative of those who are carried away by the processions of the Wilde Jagd/"the unbaptized".²⁵⁹ An important difference between them and the *zduhač* is that the above capacity of the *zduhač* is due to his *birth with a caul*. Djordjević has published some data about *zduhač animals* from Serbia and Crna Gora. These beings take part in the shamanistic battles of the *zduhač* as his animal-shaped helping spirits, as his alter egos.²⁶⁰ In the Caucasian parallels of the *zduhač* battles (to be mentioned later) similar helping spirit horses also appear. On the basis of these parallelisms we may draw the conclusion that the participation of these latter spirits in the battles of the wizard (who does not fight in animal form) has the same role as the *kresnik's* and *zmej's* transformation into animals (i.e. the appearance of the free soul in animal form; see note 267). The question is: What is the connection between all this and the birth with caul/birth from an animal? Furthermore: is there a close connection between the birth with caul/birth from a snake – animal soul/guardian spirit and/or fight in animal shape as a characteristic of one of the wizard types (werewolf wizards?) of our area under study – contrary to the wizards rising up to the storm and joining the souls proceeding in the wind? We may perhaps find a mixture of two (or more) systems in the figure and in the other-worldly battles of the *zduhač*: the other-world battles of wizards born with a caul/from a snake who fight in animal shape and with the help of an animal guardian spirit mingle with the battles of storm demons (souls and their initiated) proceeding in the wind.²⁶¹ On the other hand, the connection or the original relationship of the two systems might be proved by the relation between the *zduhač* and the *stoicheion*, *stihia*, etc. guardian spirits: a suppositional relation based on the similarity of the names. The *stoicheion*-like storm-demon guardian spirits developed from the "shadows" of people (i.e. from the souls of the dead) represent the positive aspect of the "evil shadows" and the "unbaptized": the souls proceeding in the storm. Their appearance in animal form relates them to the "good" ancestors protecting their own community: to the positive pair/aspect of the "evil" werewolf demons, to the "good" animal guardian spirits and the ambivalent dragon-snake storm demons, like the *zmej* snake patronizing the *zmej* magician. So we can say that the presumable mediator-patronized connection of the *zduhač* with *stoicheion* like guardian spirits means at the same time a connection with storm demons and animal guardian spirits as well. Presumably, this latter connection is represented by the pair of *zduhač* – *zduhač animal*. (The name of the *zduhač* animals is connected with the word *vila*. This refers to the contamination of the animal-form guardian spirits with the fairy guardian spirits, i.e. with the zoomorphic fairies who can hardly be distinguished from the archaic animal figures of the haunting dead – c.f. *karakondzuli*, "Theodore horses".)

The dead/the storm-demon guardian spirits appearing in the wind also represent a part of the Balkan fairies' origin, while on the other hand

they often contaminated, mingled with the storm-demon fairies. In this sense, the pair *zduhač* – *fairy guardian spirit* can also be found in the Balkans. According to a few sporadic data the *zduhač* is the mediator of the storm-demon fairies. For instance, a variation of “rising” into wind or storm related to fairies is also known in connection with the Croatian wizard called *vjedogonja*; other beliefs attribute the features of the storm-demon fairies to the *zduhač*.²⁶² This type of *mogut* wizard (from the Croatian Turopolje), which is similar to the *zduhač* (he also fights storm battles) has the name *vilenjak*, which is related to the word *vila*.²⁶³

So the *zduhač* is not the mediator or the initiated of the Balkan fairy, the dancing nymph, but we can presume his old connections with some of the Balkan fairies’ ancestors: the storm demons/the souls proceeding in the wind and the animal-form souls/animal guardian spirits whose figures mixed with the fairies: they are zoomorphic fairies, similar to the archaic animal figures of the haunting dead/ancestors who are – on the other hand – also the death ancestors of the “nymph fairies”.

The following two data referring to a Croatian and a Slovene wizard show us a wider – perhaps Caucasian-Iranian – context of the Balkan wizard – fairy relations. According to one Croatian legend from the Drava area, the *vedovnjak* (“seer”) steals the mast guarded by the fairies for the pigs of his village: “Then this seer went to a place where the fairies distributed the mast. When somebody dropped a mast, he picked it up. In that year there was so much mast that nobody had to feed his pig with maize...”²⁶⁴ In a legend that describes the fight between the *kresnik* and the witches, after the victory of the former, golden corn fell on the earth.²⁶⁵ These two motifs can be regarded as the legendary precipitation of “stealing/obtaining the crop from a divinity/from the other world” mythologeme. A variation of “crop obtained from the other world” connected with a shamanistic other-worldly journey is known from the Caucasus. From the publications of Moszyński²⁶⁶ and Istvánovits²⁶⁷ we get acquainted with the shamans of the Ossetians, who on New Year’s Eve fall asleep, and their souls start on an other-worldly journey to steal corn from the divinity who distributes corn and different diseases. Their souls (riding on domestic animals or on household objects: on a bench, a broom or a spade, on a cat or a dog) gather in groups and fight with the soul troops of the neighbouring, hostile tribe led by the spirit of the mountain or by angels. The conquering group obtains a handful of corn, which it spreads towards home. On waking the shamans prophesy plenty or poverty for the next year – depending on the outcome of the battle.²⁶⁸ This other-worldly corn-stealing fight – as Moszyński also emphasized – is a close parallel to the other-worldly journeys of the *zduhačes*. The main difference is that here the crop is guarded by an other-worldly divinity unknown in the *zduhač* beliefs: the fight for the crop between the wizards of two tribes is at the same time a fight to obtain the corn from the fertility-protecting agrarian god. The shamans of the Ossetians – according to another version – fight for the crop not with the wizards of the neighbouring tribe, but with the dead, who are unwilling to hand it over. They may also bring different diseases from the other world.²⁶⁹

Regarding the above motifs, these shamanistic battles are also the equivalents of the werewolf magicians' other-worldly fights to get back the stolen crop from hell/from the demons. These battles also represent a close parallel to the quasi-other-worldly fights of the *strigoi*, the Rumanian witch. On the other hand, the animal-soul horses who act as the alter egos of the shaman are the equivalents of *zduhač* horses. The Ossetian shaman's horse standing in the stable during the other-worldly journey is sweating, neighing and is tired out "as if it has been running a hundred versts".²⁷⁰

As briefly mentioned above, the twofold figure of the Rumanian witch, the *strigoi* – besides other characteristics – integrated features both of a positive wizard and of the "winter demons", among them the crop-stealing werewolf demon.²⁷¹ In the beliefs of his "other-worldly" battles we can easily notice certain elements of the fight of werewolf magicians against werewolf demons: the time of this fight coincides with the period when demons get active. The place of the battle – a "waste land", "the end of the world" – is "hell", where the demons gather the stolen crop and from where the wizards have to retrieve it (just as in the werewolf fights, a close parallel to the *strigoi* battles, as we could see in the afore-mentioned Livland werewolf trial). Another scene of the fights can be the crossroad, the symbolic "inferno" of the *kresnik* fights. The *strigoi*s lying in trance/dream take part in these battles with their souls which, leaving their bodies, appear in the form of flies, honey-bees or birds. These battles do not have the aim of obtaining the crop, as was the case in the shamanistic wizards' other-worldly fights; the battle of the *strigoi*s' soul troops – when they appear again in human shape – is rather self-contained, presumably as the consequence of their growing witch character. The only result of this other-worldly fight is that the defeated *strigoi*s (just like the Ossetian shamans) may bring death or diseases to their communities. Their vehicles and weapons are similar to those used by the Caucasian shamans: besides riding on dogs and cats (the female, "milk-spoiling *strigoi*s" ride on cows and oxen), they also use the instruments of farming, vine growing and hemp processing as vehicles and – partly – as weapons. Such instruments are: the hemp breaker, its edge, the heddles, the flaxcomb, the thrasher, the rake, the scythe, the handle of the grinder, the barrel etc.²⁷² On the basis of the Caucasian analogy we may suppose that these instruments are connected with the agrarian activities of stealing and getting back the crop, and they may refer to a certain *agrarian deity*. The *strigoi* who rides on a flax stripper and fights with the hemp breaker's edge²⁷³ as well as the cow and oxen riding, "milk-spoiling" *strigoi* – all recall the figure of the Tadzhik storm goddess with death/fertility protection features who patronized the milk- and hemp-related works and who is considered as the archaic ancestor of the *Perchtas* and the "Tuesday evening". The connection between such a being and the shamanistic wizards (a supposition based on the analogy of the *strigoi* battles) could represent a parallel/an archetype of the pairs of *zduhač* – storm demons/dead and the *benandanti* who join the procession of the dead – a *Perchta*-like goddess. As far as the "fighting"

type of *benandanti* is concerned, on the basis of the striking similarities between the *benandante* battles and the activities of the *zduhač* and the Caucasian shamans (also considering the *Perchtas'* Iranian-Central Asian connections examined by *Bleichsteiner*), *we can assume that on the one hand there is an original connection between the Perchta-like chthonic goddess and the benandante-like shamanistic wizards, and on the other hand that they all have a common Caucasian-Iranian relationship.*

Without aiming to define the "origin" or the directions in which these elements spread from the fragments appearing at different places we may state that the similarities and the common elements of the *zduhač*-strigoi-benandante fights and their Caucasian-Iranian-Central Asian parallels point to the agrarian and/or death/storm gods of these latter territories. These can also be regarded as the common "ancestors" of the fairies of the Balkans and the *Perchtas* of the Alps. Of course, the fragmentary and heterogeneous fertility goddess and the storm-demon features (probably deducable to a storm god) of the Balkan fairies cannot be related to one particular god of a particular place: besides the elements mentioned above and those inherited from the *Artemis/Diana* and the *Dionysos*-cults there must have been several further ways by which other "pre-fairy" features were integrated into the belief system.

As was mentioned above, the dancing nymph fairies, fairy goddesses whose figures are rich in *Artemisian/Dionysiac* traditions are related to the first-mentioned par excellence fairy magicians. The possibility of meeting of the two systems (fairy magicians and shamanistic wizards) arises in connection with the rites of the *călușari* and the *rusalia*. The "fertility fights" between the "troops" of two villages – as I mentioned in the introduction – are the morphological parallels of the other-worldly battles of the shamanistic wizards. The fights between two groups are a wide-spread ritual pattern²⁷⁴ – so the above similarities are not necessarily the results of historical relations. Nevertheless, there is one common aspect of these rites and of the other-worldly battles of the shamanistic wizards in which we can really find some contact points between the two systems: this is the contrast of *summer/sun/lightness* – *winter/hell/darkness* with the victory of light/sun/summer i.e. the mythologeme of the "liberation of the sun" that is expressed both in the ritual fights and dances and in the other-worldly battles of the *kresnik*-, *zmej*-type werewolf magicians. The werewolf demons who arrive from hell among the people in winter, in the dark period of the year, do not only "steal the crop"; they steal celestial bodies as well. The wizards' fights against them at the same time mean the "liberation of the sun". The same thought is expressed in the dark and light animal figures of the *kresnik* and *mogut* battles which cause the darkening and the lightening of the celestial bodies and, of course, end with the victory of the light figures. The same opposition between *summer and winter, heaven/lightness/sun and hell/darkness* (i.e. the opposition of the "unbaptized" and the werewolf demons who appear in winter, in the dark period of the year, who want to make the sun disappear and destroy the "world tree" on the one hand and the *sînzienne/Ileana Cosînzeana* sitting on the world tree, appearing

at the time of the summer solstice, bringing daylight and fertility on the other) is expressed in the black-white ritual fights and dances of the *călușari* and the *rusalia* as well as in the related *Perchta* and *Lucia* rites and beliefs. Indirectly – and in accordance with the opposition of *lightness/own people/human* – *darkness/alien people/non-human/demonic* the fertility battles between the troops of two villages as well as the fights between clans express the opposing elements of *dark* and *light*; that is why Nilsson, as well as some other scholars, connects them – together with the death and resurrection plays – with the set of rites that express the fight of winter-spring/summer and with the traditions of the surviving Dionysos cult which originally represented the death and the resurrection of Dionysos the vegetation god, i.e. the decease and the revival of vegetation. Nilsson also connects the Attic legend which speaks about the fight between two territories (Athens and Boëthia) for the possession of a certain land with the Dionysiac traditions: in this legend the fight takes place between the *Xanthos* (“blond”) and the *Melanthos* (“dark”) goats representing the two opposing groups. Leaving aside the problem arising in connection with this legend (i.e. the question of the priority of myth or rite²⁷⁵), this text is important for us because, as a ritual or legendary parallel to the *kresnik*-kind wizards’ soul battles fought in animal form, refers probably to the dionysiac connections of these shamanistic fights i.e. to the meeting or to the common roots of the latter with the ritual battles of the representatives of the two territories and with the above-mentioned *dark-light* rites and beliefs.²⁷⁶ This, of course, does not necessarily imply a historical relationship between the shamanistic wizards and the members of the *călușari*-like secret societies. If this relationship did exist, there may have been a patronized-patron connection between the shamanistic wizards and the fertility god-like ancestors of the fairies.

Summing up all we have said about the different types of wizards, we can now answer the question of whether or not the Balkan fairies patronize shamanistic wizards, and whether the pair of “the fairy and her mediator, the shamanistic wizard who goes to the other world to fight for his community”, does really exist. Our answer is that the existence of such a “pair” is merely accidental and is true more in connection with different fairy ancestors than in the case of fairies “integrated with nymphs”; the Balkan fairy beliefs have preserved fragments of original connections only accidentally.

Societies of witches and initiation

Both the present Hungarian beliefs and the reports of the witch trials show that the other-worldly soul battles of the groups of initiated shamanistic wizards who were “taken away” by animal guardian spirits and animal souls and who fought against werewolf demons, and against

the magicians of the neighbouring community as well as the fairy groups and those whom they "carried away" to their other world, were important antecedents of the images of witch feasts and witch companies. The study of this aspect of the witch companies and of the related problem of the Hungarian witch's "crop-stealing" activity (a feature common with Rumanian, Croatian and Slovene witches) cannot be the subject of the present paper.²⁷⁷ We can deal now only with those features which relate them to the fairies. Such points of contact could be the original relations between the fairy ancestors and the shamanistic wizards, but these, in the Hungarian witch beliefs (where the functions changed several times), can no longer be discerned. On the other hand, one important characteristic of the Hungarian witch beliefs is the heterogeneous mixture of what were originally more or less independent "fairy" and "shamanistic" antecedents concerning the beliefs on communication, the other world itself, and the mythical other-world images of soul fights and fairy feasts.

The fact that this is a continuation of the Rumanian-Slavic antecedents in the Hungarian witch beliefs has of course contributed much to this heterogeneity. Here the defunctionalization, the secondary development, is even more characteristic than in the case of the Rumanian and South Slavic parallels.²⁷⁸ Thus we cannot decide to what extent the "real" other-worldly journeys of the really existing fairy magicians contributed to the beliefs of the witch-company initiations alongside for example, the legendary traditions of the dancing and the extatic "other-worldly" journeys of those carried away by the fairies to the fairy heaven. Presumably – in Hungary – these were merely *beliefs* in the communication with the fairy other world even at the period – not precisely definable – when they became witch beliefs. To these antecedents we may add the Hungarian *táltos* beliefs (or the *táltos*' "real" practice of communication?), thus making the situation even more complicated. The reports which speak about the soul leaving the body (these appear mainly in our witch trials) may refer both to the fairy magicians and to any other mediator type who could communicate with the other world²⁷⁹ unless we have definite data that a man was taken away to the "fairy heaven" (as, for instance, the fairy magician of the afore-mentioned witch trial was). Similarly, "getting to the other world" expressed by archotypic other-world symbols (e.g. bridge, a narrow road, a tunnel) or by the motifs of "falling from human space/time" can be relics of fairy wizards's other-worldly journeys that survived in witch legends and of the other-worldly journeys of other shamanistic wizards' (e.g. the Hungarian *táltos*).²⁸⁰ The same can be said about the vehicles which carried the "souls" on these other-worldly travels (perhaps this function is the reason why these vehicles were imagined to be very small): the guests of the witch feasts travelled in a millet-glume, a nutshell, or a sieve.²⁸¹

In the beliefs about persons who joined the witches or were called or taken away to participate in their feasts, the riding fairies and their archaic animal forms, the "animal soul" of the werewolf wizards, the guardian spirits, the animal ancestors and the helping spirits are all present in an

inseparable conglomerate; in this “secondary state” we cannot recognize the original functions, which were no longer clearly separable even in the oldest known fairy and wizard beliefs. The witch, when assuming an animal form, carries people or animals away, she rides people whom she transforms into animals, on animals stolen from the stable or on different household utensils: these features all lead back to the different variants of the above-mentioned *fairy/guardian spirit/animal ancestor/animal soul – wizard* relations. (Not, of course, to these connections exclusively but as the roots of Hungarian witch beliefs, they really are worth taking into consideration.) We can also suppose that even the transformation of people into horses (with a bridle or with a halter) has some roots that lead us to the above relations: the common motifs of the Ossee shaman’s alter ego animals and the strigoi’s saddle animals (found in the morning sweating and exhausted) may prove the same supposition.²⁸²

Apart from the special roles of the “ancestors”, the only thing that seems to be important is that once the archaic methods of communication ceased between the “two worlds”, transfiguration and transforming others into animals could become the magical capacity of the witch. The connection between zoomorphic fairies, animal souls, animal demons and people – i.e. “calling”, taking away and initiation – helped the process in which the demonic witch was transformed into an “evil” human witch and also served as the basis for “joining the witch company” and “initiation into the witch company”; the werewolf magician who, during his other-worldly journeys, transformed into an animal influenced the witch’s capacity to change her shape.

As far as the other world is concerned: though the witch legends that reflect the fertility fights of the shamanistic wizards or the afore-mentioned “carrying people away to fairy heaven” all have a rather separate level that today constitutes individual legend types, the way the other world is described is rather inconsistent both in recent witch beliefs and in the witch feast stories of the witch trial testimonies. The reason: in the case of the human witch the other world is not a necessary scene of feasts and battles but only a kind of functionless and needless “inheritance”. The journey of the witches “to the end of the world” by riding a cow thus recalls the *strigoi*’s and the werewolf wizard’s travels in hell, while the little girl travelling “to the end of the sky” riding on a cow actually visits the fairies’ other world: she speaks about feasts, fairs and stalls – pleasant things characteristic of the fairy heaven.²⁸³ Horse-riding witches carry people away to feasts that better resemble the battles of the werewolf magicians but another one – carried away in the same way – can also get to the fairy heaven: a “witch horse” took someone to a fairy feast held under a tree in the forest.²⁸⁴

As was mentioned before, the Rumanian *călușari*’s “secret society” keeping contact with the “fairy queen” and the related rites are regarded by Eliade as the ritual antecedents and frame of the later Witches’ Sabbath concept, as the remains of the cult of an Artemis/Diana-like fertility goddess. These remains served – according to his presumption – as the

background for the medieval witch charges of "joining Diana's train". However, the *călușari*'s rites and the Rumanian witch beliefs do not give concrete proof of the above presumption. The *călușari* and the *rusalia*, performed more or less in their original function even today, have existed parallel to the witch-company concepts. These concepts primarily reflect the other-world journeys of the werewolf magicians. They are hardly influenced by the official Witches' Sabbath concept, and no special effect of the extant fairy beliefs or of the *călușari*'s initiated companies (or of the related rites) can really be proved. Nevertheless, in Hungarian witch beliefs the influence of the *călușari* and the *rusalia* (together with the *turka* and other Christmas and carnival rites not examined here) was important, mostly in connection with the notions of witch companies and initiation. In the testimonies of the East Hungarian (Zemplén, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Bihar, Heves counties) witch trials we find reports of witch companies who visited people's houses one after the other, and there are several elements referring to the *călușari*'s "troops" also proceeding from house to house and performing meanwhile a "fairy dance". On the basis of the above facts we may presume that these features became witch beliefs in the Hungarian language territory, though such rites were not performed by the Hungarians. Similar data referring to ritual "troops" are known from the South and West Hungarian witch trials, too: here the remains of different rites mingle with each other to a larger extent.

The different "ranks" in witch companies, their requisites (e.g. drums, flags), the guarding of these requisites by different "officers"²⁸⁵, the initiation itself or the act of taking oath are the elements that refer definitely to the *călușari*-like companies. In this respect it is worth mentioning that Easter and Whitsun are the times for witch and devil initiations. Somebody, for instance, "would have taken the mark (from the devil) at Whitsun".²⁸⁶ In Kisvárdá, the members of a witch company take the oath by putting their hands on a sword or on a flag like the *călușari*.²⁸⁸

The motifs of witch-company beliefs referring to rites performed at "fairy time" or during other demonic beings' appearance also contain some elements related to the other world of fairy magicians and other mediators. Like the afore-mentioned data on witch feasts held in people's houses, these are belief-legends and reports of experiences which unite myth with rite, and they are also characterized by an "ambiguous other-worldliness". This, on the one hand, may partly reflect the original duality of myth and rite: the *călușari* act as the initiated of the fairies, as their mediators who "travel to the other world" and, at the same time, they are also the performers of the rites representing these fairies. On the other hand, this "ambiguity" may simply mean a secondary mixing of beliefs containing elements of different rites and myths (a characteristic result of the process by which original functions lose their importance). In a single report of a witch feast the description of the witch groups proceeding from town to town and from wine cellar to wine cellar may reflect the other world of the shamanistic wizards' soul troops, the fairy group proceeding from mountain to mountain, the groups of the *călușari*

and the *rusalia* visiting villages and houses one after the other and the memories of the big feasts at the end of the rites. The witches' carousal in wine cellars recalls the "winter demons'" inferno.²⁸⁹ In this context, the ritual creation of symbolic other worlds (by fairy magicians) is also very characteristic; the dance of the witches at the crossroads or round the church can refer to the similar rites of the *rusalia* groups²⁹⁰ as well as to abstract-symbolic other worlds. In the description of a ritual witch feast we can find, for example, motifs referring to other-world soul journey: according to the testimony at a witch trial in Zala county the victim of the witches became very small, i.e. he took part in the feast only "in spiritu": "... the witches decided that they would go to Muraköz with a barrel to fetch some wine... the poor fellow thought that if they had let him get away he would have been able to slip through the key-hole".²⁹¹ In the reports on the *călușari*-like witch companies the witches appearing in the yard usually hoist a flag and dance around it. According to one witness, the dancing witches rattled wooden swords and said "Hip hop". The scenes of everyday feasts held in the yard also preserved elements of real rites. For instance, "there are armchairs arranged in a row in which women [the observers?] sit wearing short coats lined with red fox fur." But the flag, which had a symbolic meaning in the *călușari*'s rites as well, loses its everyday character and becomes a fairy witch magical object, its wings grow big, and the red silk flag decorated with golden dots and fastened to a golden staff in itself almost represents the "golden" fairy heaven.²⁹³

The above phenomena require deeper analysis, but it seems probable even on the basis of the few facts referring to Rumanian/South Slavic-Hungarian interrelations that parallel to the beliefs of fairy groups revelling in the other world and of wizards fighting other-world soul battles, the rites of the fairies' "earthly representatives" performed at "fairy times" (as a possible popular framework for the devil-pact ideology) may have served as the basis for the beliefs in witch companies and "witch initiations", at least in Hungarian folk belief.

The Hungarian example is certainly not unparalleled; there must have been a similar development in the S Slavic territories, but further investigation is necessary to substantiate this hypothesis. Even if Eliade's theory cannot be applied to Rumanian witch beliefs, it has validity in a fairly large region of SE Europe, with some modifications: The cult of a supposed fertility goddess was not in itself the sole origin of beliefs in societies of witches and in the Witches' Sabbath in this territory; the other-world soul journeys and battles of the shamanistic werewolf wizards also played a fairly large role in the development of these beliefs.

I do not wish to draw far-fetched conclusions from my SE European sources, but considering the common elements of the European fairy beliefs and thinking of the Central and W European equivalents of the SE European fairies (Holda and Perchta, Domina Abundia, the Scottish-Irish fairies, etc.), it is possible that a transformation of fairies into witches took place in several parts of Europe in a similar way, and an ancient Indo-European fairy cult may provide us with *one* of the keys to the

origin of the “diabolised Sabbath” – to use Henningsen’s expression. The medieval witch charges about “Diana’s train”, the data about the followers of Diana/Holda or those of the Sicilian/Italian fairies (“the ladies of the night”, “the ladies from outside”²⁹⁴) may refer both to the mythical other worlds of the fairies/goddesses and to the real assemblies of their “earthly representatives”. Henningsen’s Sicilian data suggest that such other-worldly–earthly “pairs” must have existed even outside the SE European territory examined in the present paper.

In a roundabout way and with strict limitations we thus return to Murray’s problematic theory. Before the belief system of witchcraft emerged, a “fertility cult” related to fairy-like mythical beings may have existed in several parts of Europe. The *mythical and ritual elements* of this cult may have been preserved even through the folk beliefs in a Witches’ Sabbath in the W European territory examined by Murray (e.g. in the testimonies of the Scottish “fairy trials”²⁹⁵), but – if we may insist on the parallels between the eastern and western half of Europe – they must have been only dysfunctional relics preserved only in narratives and not in *real* witch societies and assemblies. If, on the basis of the SE European “witch company” images, we suppose the coexistence of mythical and ritual vestiges only in narratives, even the incompatibility of the “earthly” and “other-worldly” elements of the witch-assembly descriptions becomes disputable. Cohn was, of course, right to point out that Murray omitted passages referring to “other-worldly” moments (such as flying, taking animal shape, slipping through the key-hole) from the witch trial records published by her, because they contradicted her conception of “real” witch-assemblies.²⁹⁶ Still, we must add to Cohn’s objections to the hypothesis developed by Murray, Runeberg, and others²⁹⁷ concerning “secret societies of magicians” that such societies may have existed in the same way as the *rusalia* and *călușari* exist in certain parts of the Balkans. Their possible existence does not, however, prove the existence of witch societies; it does not prove it in SE Europe either.

NOTES

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to the Soros Foundation for the Hungarian translation of the Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Bulgarian, Polish and Rumanian studies and texts used in the present paper.

² Szendrey 1955.

³ E.g. the transformation of ancient – Thracian, Greek and Roman – female wizards into witches: Soldan-Heppe 1911 I, 31–69; Nilsson 1940, 97; Caro Baroja 1961, 47–59. On the role of popular magic and wizards in European witchcraft see: Kieckhefer 1976.

⁴ For an account of Hungarian *szép-asszony* and fairy beliefs see: Róheim 1925, 110–116; Zentai 1972–73; id. 1976; Gunda 1974; Bihari 1980, 149; Dömötör 1981, 82–89. Rich material is published by Salamon 1975; Bosnyák 1977; id. 1980; id. 1982; Fugedi 1982. References to S Slavic and Rumanian connections can be found in the works of Kálmány 1885; Strausz 1897, 125–130; Seres 1981; Pop 1984; Jung 1985, 100–101.

⁵ Filipović 1982, 246.

⁶ In this paper, instead of giving a full analysis of the role of fairies in the heroic epic, my intention is to examine only a few aspects of these characters. For fairies in the heroic epic see e.g. Krauss-Dragišević 1890; Strausz 1897; Lambert 1917; Kretzenbacher 1971.

⁷ Ginzburg 1966, Klaniczay 1984.

⁸ On the supposed bases of the official Sabbath concept in the West and Central European folklore and mythical remnants see: Cohn 1975, 207–223; Ginzburg 1984, 341–343.

⁹ Murray 1921; id. 1931; Runeberg 1947.

¹⁰ Ginzburg 1983, xxi–xxii.

¹¹ Klaniczay 1984.

¹² Eliade 1974.

¹³ Eliade – on the basis of linguistic data – describes a suppositional development of *Diana* → *Dziana* → *Zina* (1974, 159–160).

¹⁴ Hansen 1901, 38–39; Lea 1957 I, 170–198.

¹⁵ Henningsen 1988.

¹⁶ Ginzburg 1983, 30–67.

¹⁷ On the *Perchtas* see the accounts of Waschnitius 1913 and Liungman 1937–38 II, 596–670.

¹⁸ Ginzburg 1983, 57–58, 142–143. The publication of the Livland werewolf trial (after Bruiningk): Höfler 1934, 345–351.

¹⁹ The closest Balkan relative of *Holda/Perchta/Frau Saelde* as chthonic goddesses is the Slovene “Mittwinterfrau” going under the names of *Pehtra Baba*, *Zlata Baba*, *Quaternica*, etc. This female figure – like the Austrian–German–Swiss *Perchtas* – is the leader of the soul troops appearing around Christmas and Twelfth Night. Her vegetation- and death-goddess features are manifest primarily in the mummary traditions representing her with her troop. (They are “nice” and “ugly”, “black” and “white” figures who either present people with something or punish them. Sometimes they expressly represent the dead). Her role in controlling the spinning (or protecting it?) also connects this goddess with the *Perchtas*. Sometimes her figure is also connected with rites aiming to ensure a rich crop of flax. (Kuret 1969; id. 1975; Rumpf 1976, 218.) The Croatian–Slovene–Hungarian–Czech–Moravian *Lucia* or *Luca*, who is connected with the winter solstice of the Gregorian calendar and who is also represented in mummary rites, is basically a similar chthonic goddess-like figure (Kretzenbacher 1959; Dömötör 1961; Pócs 1982).

²⁰ Henningsen 1988.

²¹ The descriptive summaries are not annotated by each entry, unless reference is made to certain special, local phenomena. The basic sources referred to in this paper are – by language territory – as follows: *Rumanian*: Marienescu 1891; Moldován 1897; id. 1913; Saineanu 1899; Téglás 1912; Beza 1928; Candrea 1944, 157–

163; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 41–63; 76; Popinceanu 1964; Buhociu 1968; Mușlea–Bîrlea 1970, 206–218; Schott 1971, 310–311; Eliade 1974, 159–162; Kligman 1981, 47–65; Pócs 1981; Seres 1981, 191–192; Pop 1984. *Bulgarian*: Czirbusz 1882; Strausz 1897, 104–137; Marinov 1914, 201–207; Dukova 1970, 210; Georgieva 1983, 110–137. *Greek and Macedonian*: Schmidt 1871, 98–130; Abbot 1903, 242–257; Lawson 1910, 130–173; Liungman 1937–38 II, 610–615; Blum 1970, 12–115; Vlachos 1971, 219–225. *Albanian*: Hahn 1853, 161–162; Moldován 1897, 163; Liungman 1936–37 II, 617–626; Lambertz 1922, 150–151; id. 1958, 155–157; Çabej 1941; id. 1966, 366; Uhlisch 1985, 303–304. *Serbo-Croatian*: Krauss–Dragišević 1890; Carić 1899; Filakovac 1905, 144–145; Ivanišević 1905, 254–262; Krauss 1908, 37, 42–44, 81; Ardalic 1917; Mikac 1934; Liungman 1937–38 II, 617–626; Scheeweiss 1961, 6–8; Dömötör 1968; Frankovics 1972–73; Bošković-Stulli 1974–75; Zečević 1981, 31–38, 40–49; collection of Diószegi in Bătya and Dusnok (S Hungary); collection of Grynaeus in Bătya. *Slovenian*: Kelemina 1930, 96–97, 187–206; Kuret 1972, 61–62.

²² These nature spirit fairies of the SE Alps are – both in their appearance and in their relations to people – close relatives of the Balkan fairies (Alpenburg 1861, 264, 282–283, 312; Mannhardt 1904 I, 100–101, 106; Graber 1914, 2–62; Kelemina 1930, 201–204, 207–210; Runeberg 1947, 117).

²³ Mannhardt 1904–05 I, 87–98; Graber 1914, 63–67.

²⁴ Liungman 1937–38 II, 569–626, 1143.

²⁵ Lawson 1910, 130–173.

²⁶ Similar motifs in the Scottish, Irish and Balkan fairy beliefs: the fairies' death- and storm-demon features, their fertility-bringing dances, the role of music, the connection of this world with the other world, carrying people away to the fairy heaven, the figures of the initiated accompanying the fairies. (Campbell 1900; id. 1902; Lehmacher 1951; Melia 1967; Brøngaard 1969; Ó hEochaidh 1977.)

²⁷ On the connection between Domina Abundia and the Matronae cult

see: Nilsson 1916–19, 122–130; Liungman 1937–38 II, 668.

²⁸ Strausz 1897, 105; Schneeweiss 1961, 78; Vakarelski 1969, 232; they all accept the views of Veselovski.

²⁹ According to Strausz (1897, 126) it is the compound of *samo* ("self") and *vila*; furthermore, the name *samo-vila* has been used instead of *vila* since the 16th century (ibid., 105; Vakarelski 1969, 232).

³⁰ Zečević 1981, 31–32; Candrea 1944, 21.

³¹ On the connection between these terms and the name of *Diana* and on the archaeological remnants and folklore survivals that refer to the ancient cult of Diana in the western and eastern territories of the Balkan peninsula see: Çabej 1941, 235–236.

³² Liungman 1937–38 II, 588; Lea 1957 I, 181.

³³ According to Pop (1984, 232) the name *iele* is used to designate an absent third person or object.

³⁴ Further names are: "the proud", "the strong", "the pitiful", "the saints", "the virgins", "the goddesses", "the brave", "the charming", "the white", "the little falcons", "the beautiful women", "the girls of the night", etc. (Mușlea–Bîrlea 1970, 207; Candrea 1944, 157–158).

³⁵ Kligman 1981, 48; Marienescu 1891, 4.

³⁶ Strausz 1897, 106; Saineanu 1899, 98, 203; Candrea 1944, 158–159; Vakarelski 1969, 234; Zečević 1981, 43; Mușlea–Bîrlea 1970, 206.

³⁷ Nilsson 1911, 673; Schneeweiss 1961, 33.

³⁸ Lawson 1910, 163–169; Liungman 1937–38 II, 609–612.

³⁹ Zečević 1981, 40–41. W Slavic water fairies and/or nymphs: Haase 1939, 149–154; Zelenin 1927, 390–392; Veckenstedt 1880, 185–199; Zečević 1981, 32–38.

⁴⁰ Carić 1899, 603, 607; Ivanišević 1905, 268.

⁴¹ Mikac 1934, 196.

⁴² Further names are: Serbo-Croatian *nevidincici*, *nevidmici*, *macarno*, *macirno*, Bulgarian *navjaci*, Macedonian *navijak*, Greek *telonio* (Schmidt 1871, 171–173; Wlislöcki 1896, 60–62; Moldovan 1897, 173–175; Strausz 1897, 173–174; Urbas 1898, 146; Marinov 1914, 218; Liungman 1937–38 II,

618–619; Candrea 1944, 152–156; Bošković-Stulli 1953, 338; Schneeweiss 1961, 5–6; Vakarelski 1969, 236; Blum 1970, 96–98; Vlachos 1971, 235–236, 241; Zečević 1981, 123–125).

⁴³ Similar Albanian belief figures are also known (without names), “who make troubles similar to those caused by fairies” (Hahn 1853, 161–162). Further sources are: Schmidt 1871, 181–182; Lawson 1910, 288; Marinov 1914, 212; Candrea 1944, 163–164; Blum 1970, 59, 104, 116, 240; Zečević 1981, 163–165. The beliefs in the “unbaptized”, the “shadows” were influenced by other demons as well, who partly survived as independent figures or were integrated into the “demonic side” of the Balkan witches. Among their ancestors – besides Hekate – are, for instance the Greek *strinx/strix* (pl.: *striges*). This latter demon appears in owl form, acting like a nightmare and vampire, tormenting animals and women and taking out the internal organs of children (Waschnitius 1913, 82; Herter 1950, 118–119). The name and the bird appearance of this demon was loaned to the “classic” human witch, the *strix* (pl.: *striga*, first described by Ovid) who could turn into a bird and who carried away the children. Her demonic characteristics live on in the N Greek and Serbo-Croatian witch, who eats human flesh, opens man’s chest and takes out his heart from his body, as well as in the bird figures of the “unbaptized”, in their harmful activities and in their malevolence towards children and women in childhood. In the same context we have to mention the *Keres*, the “angels of death”, who appeared among people in the month of Dionysia Anthestheria and who – as winged souls – were the demons of age and death; they took people to death, caused diseases and infertility (Herter 1950, 123). We also have to mention the *harpyas* (Liungman 1937–38 II, 600) appearing in half-bird, half-girl form, also having storm-demonic features, who bring sudden death; and the deformed female monsters, the *lamias* (Rohde 1925 II, 410–420) who eat human flesh and make the newborn die.

⁴⁴ Moszyński 1967, 651–652, Schneeweiss 1961, 33, 78.

⁴⁵ Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 211; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 41.

⁴⁶ On these aspects of the W Slavic *villi* (pl.), *rusalka* and the Russian-Ukrainian *rusalka* see: Grohmann 1864, 8–11; Artner 1882, 240; Veckenstedt 1880, 185–199; Zelenin 1927, 390–392; Schneeweiss 1961, 7–8; Zečević 1981, 32–38. In Russia the name *rusalka* replaced *vila* only in the 18th century. It came from the Greek *roisalia* as the consequence of the association of Roman Rosalia and Dies Rosae feasts and plays. (Haase 1939, 150–154; Zelenin 1927, 368.) On the Rumanian *rusali*: Candrea 1944, 161–163.

⁴⁷ Waschnitius 1913, 175–178.

⁴⁸ Marinov 1914, 208–210; Arnaudov 1917, 75; Čabej 1966, 368; Kretzenbacher 1968, 126; Dukova 1970, 242–243; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 182–187; Zečević 1981, 62–67; Georgieva 1983, 85–90. The Bulgarian *chala* dragon name is often used as the denomination of “strong wind”, “storm”. Some beliefs refer to their relationship with storm-demon fairies, e.g.: the Serbian *ala/azdaha*, the S Serbian *lamnja* make people mad with their dance, “which is a whirlwind”.

⁴⁹ Saineanu 1899, 30; Lawson 1910, 152–153, 168; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 206–207; Frankovics 1972–73, 241. Eliade deduces the name of the *sînzienne* fairies from “St Diana” (1974, 159–160, cf. note 13).

⁵⁰ Schneeweiss 1961, 102; Buhociu 1968, 5–6; Arnaudov 1917, 59, 64; Vakarelski 1969, 326; Megas 1963, 129.

⁵¹ Candrea 1944, 161.

⁵² On the connection between Easter and Whitsun and the Roman Feralia and Lemuralia feasts see: Schneeweiss 1961, 102; Megas 1963, 128. March 1st as the beginning of the year: Liungman 1937–38 II, 409. May 1st as the S Slavic feast of the dead: Schneeweiss 1961, 102. According to Nilsson (1911, 679–684) the late Balkan variant of the Rose feast of the Roman Empire, Rosalia Week i.e. the *Rosalia feast*, preserved those Thracian traditions of the Dionysos cult where the fertility cult of Dionysos was close by connected with the death cult. In this way, the fairies appearing in Rosalia Week also have the characteristics of those dead beings who – in the month of Dionysia Anthestheria,

on the "unclean" day or on "the day of the spirits" – appear among people and who are later driven back to the inferno.

⁵³ On the *lamias* as "noon demons": Rohde 1925 II, 420; on Hekate and Artemis: *ibid.* 82; Liungman 1937–38 II, 579.

⁵⁴ Zelenin 1927, 391; Grau 1966, 8, 19, 99–102.

⁵⁵ Pócs 1983, 183.

⁵⁶ Abbot 1903, 242–244; Lawson 1910, 134; Blum 1970, 114; Saineanu 1899, 98, 203; Frankovics 1972–73, 244–246.

⁵⁷ Lawson 1910, 134.

⁵⁸ Muşlea–Bîrlea 1970, 10.

⁵⁹ Lawson 1910, 141–144; Saineanu 1899, 281; Candrea 1940, 161; Muşlea–Bîrlea 1970, 216.

⁶⁰ Strausz 1897, 125.

⁶¹ Serbian *karakondzuli*, Macedonian *karakondzule*, *karkantzari*, etc. Greek *kallikantzari*, *kallikantzaroi* (and with "wolf" prefix: *likokantzari*), Bulgarian *karakondže*, *karakondzuli*, *kalakansari* (and *bugancite*, meaning "dogs"), Albanian *karkandsóli*, *karkanshóli*, Croatian *karangjolož*, Romanian *carcanzol*. The main views about the origin of the names: according to Lawson the word means "horse/wolf centaur" (1910, 216), while Liungman (1937–38 II, 614) and Zečević (1981, 166) regard it as having a Turkish origin, meaning "black ghost" (on other opinions see: Puchner 1977, 121–123). Sources: *Serbo-Croatian*: Grgjic-Bjelkošić 1899, 632; Schneeweiss 1961, 12; Zečević 1981, 166–170. *Albanian*: Kretzenbacher 1959, 129; Schneeweiss 1961, 12. *Macedonian*: Abbot 1903, 73–76. *Greek*: Schmidt 1871, 142–153; Lawson 1910, 190–255; Liungman 1937–38 II, 614; Megas 1963, 33–37; Blum 1970, 119–120, 331–332; Vlachos 1971, 237–240; Puchner 1977, 110–111, 121–123. *Bulgarian*: Marinov 1914, 211; Vakarelski 1969, 239. On the "world-tree" see: Megas 1963, 33. On the belief about the pillar that supports the earth see: Puchner 1977, 111.

⁶² Liungman (1937–38 II, 614) also considers them as *werewolves*. The man who gets fierce between Christmas and Twelfth Night is obviously a werewolf; it is very likely that the demons coming from the inferno/from

the other world to visit people and the figures of the werewolves who joined them (or fought against them?) united under a common name after they had lost their original functions (similar to the werewolves – wolf-demons duality mentioned below). Megas (1963, 33–37) lays stress on their death origin, on their relation with the dead beings who appear on the "ghost day" of Anesthesia; Lawson (1910, 209, 253–254) connects the demons with the ancient Greek images of (horse, wolf, etc.) *centaurs*, although he traces back the origin of the centaur concept not to the figure of the demon but to the man able to transform into animal shape, in connection with the belief about the alien – according to the Achaean, the Pelasgian – wizards who became centaurs. But the "alien wizard who is able to transform into an animal" – in accordance with the archaic concept of "an alien territory/an alien person = the other world/non-human, dead" – is actually a *demon*. Cf. the general opinion that "an alien becomes an evil demon" – which is well-known even in today's werewolf beliefs. For instance, according to Serbian, Greek, Bulgarian or Macedonian beliefs, the soul of a dead foreigner – e.g. of a Turkish man – becomes a dog (Zečević 1981, 168–169; Abbot 1903, 215–216; Kretzenbacher 1968, 128).

⁶³ Serbo-Croatian *vukodlak/vakudlak/kudlak*, etc., Slovene *volkodlak*, Bulgarian *vrkolak/vârkolak*, Albanian *vurvulak/vurvollak*, etc., Greek *vrikolakas/varkalakas*, Rumanian *vrîcolac, pricolici* (Hertz 1862, 113; Lilek 1900, 211–212; Schmidt 1871, 157–165; Wlislöcki 1896, 17, 90–92, 108; Moldován 1897, 195; Abbot 1903, 217; Marinov 1914, 221; Mikac 1934, 19; Schneeweiss 1961, 8; Čabej 1966, 373; Kretzenbacher 1968, 128; Muşlea–Bîrlea 1970, 228–229, 236–244; Vlachos 1971, 227; Zečević 1981, 126–237). Unfortunately we have no space here to deal at length either with the duality of the werewolves and demons hidden behind the name, or with the contamination of werewolf and vampire beliefs. However, in S Slavic beliefs (according to the sources cited here) we can find data referring to the man who, under the name of *vukodlak*, etc., can transform into a wolf,

demonic wolf, dog, etc. figures, as well as to those vampires who can transform into such animals. Jakobson traced back the name, which is similar in all the Slavic languages (and under Slavic influence it is also well-known by their language neighbours) to a common Slavic word meaning "having wolf fur" (Jakobson-Szeftel 1966, 344–345). In the Rumanian language this word is preserved in the name *vîrcolac*, which today means: a demon who came to life from the soul of an unbaptized child, who has the form of a wolf, a dog, a snake, a cat, a fish, a dragon, etc., and who "eats up" celestial bodies. The name *pricolici*, besides its original meaning (appr.: "harm-doing"), today also denotes both a vampire and the man with the capacity of becoming a wolf, etc. The Slovene *vedomec/vedanc/vidovina*, etc. that originally meant a "seer", a "wise man" (Jakobson-Szeftel 1968, 345) today also has a three-fold meaning (Kelemina 1930, 88–94; Unknown author 1883).

⁶⁴ Hertz 1862, 121; Róheim 1925, 130.

⁶⁵ Alpenburg 1861, 107; Schmidt 1871, 154–156; Unknown author, 1883; Gönczi 1895, 111; Margalits 1899a, 125; Carić 1899, 593; Dieterich 1905, 387–388; Ipolyi 1929 II, 115; Kelemina 1930, 39–40; Kretzenbacher 1968, 128; Juhász 1981, 173.

⁶⁶ Róheim 1925, 129–131. Cf. Note 63, the sources of *vîrcolac*.

⁶⁷ Sources of the Slovenian data: Kelemina 1930, 35–39; Kuret 1975, 82; Alpenburg 1861, 107. Croatian data: Mikac 1934, 197. Rumanian data: Moldován 1913, 232; Senn 1982, 206. Greek data: Hertz 1862, 121. The new moon as a period when the werewolf transforms into a wolf is well-known in many parts of Europe (Hertz 1862, 114–133; Senn 1982, 206–208). Senn (op. cit.) has suggested that the winter and summer solstice – as werewolf periods – are also connected with lunar cycles.

⁶⁸ Serbian *psoglavac/pasoglav*, Croatian *pasoglavec/soglev*, Slovene *psoglav*, Rumanian *căpcaun*, etc.: Djordjević 1953, 251–255; Kretzenbacher 1968, 119–120; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 195–196. According to Kretzenbacher, the figure of such a demon is

rooted in the old notion that unknown peoples are not human creatures. His opinion is based on different descriptions of alien, hostile peoples from the time of the Great Migrations and from the Middle Ages. The legendary cycle of the "dog-headed enemy" is widespread almost throughout the E European territory (Dobos 1986, 45–50), and in many places it contaminated with werewolf beliefs.

⁶⁹ Ginzburg 1983, 59–60.

⁷⁰ Rohde 1925 II, 80–87, 409–412; Liungman 1937–38 II, 576–589; Nils-son 1940, 90–91; Herter 1950, 133.

⁷¹ According to Kretzenbacher, in the Greek, Slavic-Macedonian and Bulgarian traditions the old Balkan notion of dog demons spoiling the harvest integrated with the figure of the dragon demon who "caused bad weather" (1968, 127). The figures of the demons and dragons who spoil or steal the harvest are known not only in the Balkans and in SE Europe. Polish folk belief also knows a spirit who visits people's settlements periodically and steals the crop (Lehr-Lenda 1981, 108–109). Duerr (1978, 238) quotes the 9th-century notes of Agobard, the Archbishop of Lyon who describes a "demonic company" that steals the crop and sails with it on a "cloud ship" to a fabulous land. Cf. the similar role of the Austrian, Czech and S German mythical beings called *Bilwis*, *Bilwitz*, *Pilbiz*, etc. (Grohmann 1864, 16; Laistner 1899 II, 286; Graber 1914, 65–67; Byloff 1929, 23–24; Singer-Mackensen 1927; Grein 1950, 195; Grimm 1981 I, 391–395; *ibid.* III, 137–139). This fertility-robbing being is especially interesting in the context of the Balkan werewolf beliefs, since in both cases we may deduce a demon – wizard duality from its figure, and from the rites related to it.

⁷² Cf. the data of note 65 and the views – that can be partly deduced from there – about the vampires who, after their death, attack their own communities (Moszyński 1967, 652). The demon who – as an animal – attacks his own family is also known in connection with the animal figures of the "unbaptized" (e.g. Wislocki 1896, 60–62; Moldován 1897, 173–175; Candrea 1944, 154–156; Zečević 1981, 129).

⁷³ E.g. the Dalmatian *white* and

black vile (Bošković-Stulli 1974–75, 93) and the Transylvanian *good* and *evil zîne* (Marienescu 1891).

⁷⁴ The “infernal”, evil aspect of the *Perchtas* is represented by their Lower Austrian relatives who, after their time has elapsed, go back under the world, by the iron-teethed, *Eiserne Perchta* and the *Gvozdenzuba* whose appearance is similar to that of the *karakondzuli*, or by the Slovene-Austrian *Gagaranutzl*, which even borrowed its name from them (Waschnitius 1913, 47–49; Liungman 1937–38 II, 624). Beside the masked rites of the *Perchtenlaufen*, when the beautiful *Perchtas* chase the ugly *Perchtas*, we can also mention the beliefs in the *Wilde Jagd* known in the eastern territories of the Alps. According to these beliefs the Wilder Mann riding a white horse in the air chases the *Perchta* escorted by the dogs of hell (Liungman *ibid.*, 648). According to some Slovene beliefs originating from the same area *Perchta Baba*, with her infernal escort, the eagles and the snakes, chases the “white women” (= the fairies; Kuret 1972, 62).

⁷⁵ They are not the stereotyped devil figures of the official Sabbath concept: these demons have in some cases become *demons*, *evils* only by name; actually, it is easy to see that they have preserved their original forms, roles and, especially their periods and places of appearance. They integrated with witch beliefs as demons “transformed into devils”, as folkloristic devil figures in spite of the fact that e.g. in Romania and Serbia the official “devil-pact” ideology could not take root and it could not influence folk belief. These folkloristic devil figures have to a great extent *karakondzuli*-, wolf-demon, horse-demon characteristics: they appear between Christmas and Twelfth Night, they kidnap children and bring storms, other “devils” break into the houses on St Andrew’s Day and at Christmas in animal form. (Candrea 1944, 113; Muşlea–Bîrlea 1970, 163–175.)

⁷⁶ Liungman 1937–38 II, 613–617; noticed verbally by Miceva.

⁷⁷ Source of the Serbian data: Zečević 1981, 151–162; Rumanian data: Marian 1899 II, 40; Moldován 1913,

294; Muşlea–Bîrlea 1970, 355–357; Eliade 1974, 164–165.

⁷⁸ Senn 1982, 210.

⁷⁹ According to both E Serbian and Rumanian beliefs in the first week of Lent (or on its first Saturday, or on one of the “Saturdays of the Dead”; in Serbia this week is called “Theodore Week”; Zečević 1981, 159–162; Eliade 1974, 164–165). According to Moldován (1913, 294) it is the Sân-Todorii days, between 13th and 19th March.

⁸⁰ Zečević 1981, 162.

⁸¹ The Rumanians offered oat and maize sacrifices; the Serbians baked sweet bread besides the other sacrifices usually offered on “the Saturday of the Dead” (Moldován 1913, 292; Zečević 1981, 157–159).

⁸² Moldován 1913, 292. According to Eliade (1974, 165) on the 24th day after Easter.

⁸³ Zečević 1981, 159.

⁸⁴ Eliade 1974, 164.

⁸⁵ Moldován 1913, 244.

⁸⁶ Kelemina 1930, 96–97: horses called *vesla*, who pull a harrow and run down anyone who gets in their way.

⁸⁷ As Zečević also mentions (1981, 161), the data of a 1092 Russian chronicle published by Jakobson in connection with Prince Vseslav, the werewolf, presumably refer to similar horse demons; at night, in the street, invisible horsemen gallop about and run down those who venture to leave their homes; they leave behind the marks of their horseshoes (Jakobson–Szeftel 1966, 350).

⁸⁸ Zečević 1981, 161. As a parallel to this we can mention the troops of the Karinthean *Perchtas* who brutally break into the houses; horse-headed, they look through the window, dragging chains (Waschnitius 1913, 40–42).

⁸⁹ For lack of sufficient data I will not study these demons in detail (see e.g. Szabó 1910; Róheim 1920, 179–182). I would only like to note that they most probably became clearly malevolent demons as a consequence of a secondary development; from the role they play – similar to the *Perchtas* – in controlling the spinning we can conclude their former “positive” side (the patrons of spinning?) as well. Bleichsteiner (1953) and Rumpf (1976) also connect their figures with the

Perchtas and the Slovene-Croatian *Lucia*.

⁹⁰ Bleichsteiner 1953. It was Dörmötör (1961) who called attention to the Tadzshik "woman of Tuesday" as the parallel to the Hungarian Luca.

⁹¹ The views that trace the beliefs in the witch transforming into an animal back to similar rites were connected with this opinion (Höfler 1934, 22–43; Lawson 1910, 209, 229–232; Kretzenbacher 1971, 87–102; Duerr 1978, 236–237, 244).

⁹² *Karakondzuli*: Lawson 1910, 223–224; Megas 1963, 35; Puchner 1977, 210–214; St Theodore's horses: Gavazzi 1968, 69. Höfler, who found the origin of werewolf beliefs in secret, cultic man societies and in the rites of the animal-mask wearing initiated, and who first worked out the theory of the "dämonische Männerbund", also stresses the common elements and the close connection between the dead/the demons appearing between Christmas and Twelfth Night and the rites performed at this time mainly in connection with the beliefs in the Perchtas, Wilde Jagd, Wütendes Heer and their masked representations (1934, 4–119).

⁹³ Nilsson 1911, 673–678; id. 1957, 50–67. The time of the rites in mid-winter and during Lent and the carnival more or less corresponds with the time of village- or little Dionysia, the Lemea, the Anthestheria and the town- or great Dionysia (and, especially, with the Brumalia the Kalendae Januariæ and Saturnalia that were adapted to replace the Roman Dionysia). (Lawson 1910, 229–232. See the connections between certain rite elements and some motifs of the Dionysos cult in Puchner's brief but valuable and critical summary: 1977, 139–141.)

⁹⁴ Cf. the masked "wild troops" of the Dionysias, the more civilized orgies of the Hellenistic Dionysias, and the different wine banquets. There seems to be an interesting parallel – even if this connection cannot be proved – between the performance of Dionysos' wine miracles (Nilsson 1957, 96–97) and the beliefs about the dragon or the werewolf demon stealing grapes at Christmas and drinking new wine before its right time. (At the great

Dionysia people celebrated the new grape blossom and the tasting of new wine.)

⁹⁵ E.g. the devil in SE Hungarian (Göcs) folk belief and the werewolf demon of Serbo-Croatia appear in the forms of dogs, horses, hens and cats (Gönczi 1914, 162); the Transylvanian devil figure also has several features in common with the Rumanian *priculici* (dog-, horse-, wolf-, cat- or snake-form, birth with a tail; Bosnyák 1977, 136–137; id. 1980, 102). The testimony of the 1737 witch trial in Szeged describes a devil similar to the Serbian *karakondzuli* with big teeth and ears (Reizner 1900, 516). The testimony of a 1756 trial held in Arad county speaks about "shadows" who jump on the back of those who leave their houses and make these people carry them (Komáromy 1910, 591; Borosjenő). In the beliefs known in Gyimes we find the figure of the devil who – similar to the "methods" of the *moroi* and the *prikulici* – urinates into people's pots or liquors through the funnel (Salamon 1975, 80–81).

⁹⁶ E.g. in the Somló area: "Advent is when the evils come" (collected by Süle). "From St Lucy's Day to Christmas, or from Christmas to New Year's Eve evil spirits are at large (Nógrádsipek, collected by Pócs). In the southern part of the language territory the *karakondzuli*, the "unbaptized", appear as "black men" or "black children" (e.g. a witness at a witch trial held in Simontornya said she had seen fiery-eyed, black children on the feast of the witches; Schram 1970 II, 495).

⁹⁷ E.g. the "living" *strigoi* is born with a tail, with a caul on a festive day, the "dead" *strigoi*'s time of appearance is Easter, or the days of St. George and St. Andrew or new moon; form-variants: dog, cat, swine, horse, wolf or snake (Candrea 1940, 148–152; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 43, 148; Mușlea-Bîrlea 1970, 244–247, 257–264).

⁹⁸ In Transylvania, and especially in Moldavia-Bukovina, a tailed and horned witch – a relative of the *priculici* and the *strigoi* – appears (e.g. Komáromy 1910, 507, witch trial held in Dés in 1742; Bosnyák 1980, 63), while at the witch trials of Békés county, Bihar county, and Kolozsvár we can read about the mess caused by witches

evoking the cat-formed *moroi* and the *strigoi* (Schram 1982, 136; Komáromy 1910, 56–57). The witch who appears as a horse demon around Christmas reminds us of the *karakondzuli* (e.g. at Christmas a horse descends through the chimney: Fejős 1985, 67; Karancskeszzi, Nógrád county), just like those horse witches who, at night, persuade people to come out from their houses (e.g. according to data from Sárretudvari, somebody is called out at night; he is warned: "... do not go out, my son, there is a colt in the yard..."; Bihar county, collected by P. Madar). The *sântoaderi* evoking witches appear in horse or centaur shape, e.g. "shows up as a dog or as a horse... It happened that... she had a human head but the rest was an animal body..." (Bosnyák 1977, 86; Bukovina).

⁹⁹ Krauss (1908, 36–38, 43–48, 69–71, 81–83) publishes rich material about "bewitchization" (i.e. the process of being transformed into a witch) of the Serbo-Croatian *vila*: e.g. the storm-demon *vile* were changed into storm-bringing witches, the water *vile* turned into "water witches". We can find further data about the Slovene and Serbo-Croatian witches who have different *vila* attributes (e.g. they assemble under trees, they fly in bird form, they carry people to fairy feasts, or make people ill if they get in their way) in the works of Ardalić (1917, 311), Schneeweiss (1961, 24), Bosković-Stulli (1974–75, 106), Pajek (1984, 20).

¹⁰⁰ Zentai 1983, 87. Or, in connection with the witch: Someone did not give way to the whirlwind... The witch was so infuriated that it seized her up in the air... Her bones were so broken that she could hardly move..." (Kolumbán 1904, 38; Déva, Hunyad county). Cf. Bihari 1980, 149.

¹⁰¹ Zentai 1983, 51. Or: "On St George's night: now the witches come from Szentistván... The old ones told: Nobody should step out of the caves, because there they are free to harm him." (Collected by Diószegi; Mezőkövesd, Borsod county.)

¹⁰² Alapi 1914, 25 (witch trial in Kamocsa in 1717). Or: *Szépasszonys* as human beings threaten like witches those who dare to tread on the spots visited by them: "When I sat down, the *szépasszonys* began to play music

above my head... then they shouted to me to stand up at once or else they would lie upon me or they would ride me..." (Seres 1981, 193; Háromszék county).

¹⁰³ Schram 1970 II, 721; Szalónak, Vas county. Another example is: "... At about Whitsun there was a strong whirlwind and the witches who sat in it hit the witness in the face. Then he lost his eye-sight..." (Reizner 1900, 432; Szeged, in 1728).

¹⁰⁴ Schram 1982, 139. A similar case is when the witnesses of a 1730 witch trial in Szeged describe the fairy illness called *the spitting of the szépasszony* (those who step on the fairies' places are punished with this) as a consequence of the witch's malevolent activity: "They spat on" the daughter-in-law of István Sika "several times", and after that her body shrivelled and finally she died (Kálmány 1971, 347).

¹⁰⁵ Carić 1899, 599; Ivanisevic 1905, 261; Frankovics 1972–73, 243–244.

¹⁰⁶ Frankovics loc. cit.; Candrea 1944, 159.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 158.

¹⁰⁸ Hahn 1853, 155; Strausz 1897, 328, 359; Arnaudov 1917, 69, 73; Buhociu 1968, 33; Pop-Eretescu 1968, 44; Kligman 1981, 56.

¹⁰⁹ Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 211–213.

¹¹⁰ Salamon 1975, 93.

¹¹¹ Duerr (1978, 185) quotes part of a *colinde*-text according to which Zina Magdalina is sitting on the sky-high tree and there she makes her troussseau. For the whole text see: Buhociu 1974, 28.

¹¹² Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 206–207.

¹¹³ According to Karinthian data on Twelfth Night the Perchtas with a troop of Wilde Jagd have to go round the world three times (Graber 1914, 95). Holle goes round the plough-land every year – ensuring fertility (Waschnitius 1913, 88). The Seligen, led by their queen, Hulda, wander all over the flax field (Mannhardt 1904–05 I, 107).

¹¹⁴ Duerr 1978, 140.

¹¹⁵ Mansikka 1909, 178; Holmberg 1922–23, 84–97; Lettenbauer 1981, 14–25.

¹¹⁶ Frankovics 1972–73, 244, 249.

¹¹⁷ Zečević 1981, 34.

¹¹⁸ Vlachos 1971, 233. Lawson (1910, 147) published similar data

about the sea and the mountain nereids: the patronized of the winner of a fight became high in spirit; that may refer to different degrees of drunkenness (or a better vintage?).

¹¹⁹ Further names are: Serbo-Croatian *sudnica/sudjenica*, Slovene *rojenica/sojanica*, Bulgarian *urisnici*, Rumanian *ursitoare*, Albanian *ora*. Schmidt 1871, 210–222; Strausz 1897, 144–160; Abbot 1903, 125; Lawson 1910, 121–141; Kelemina 1930, 163–169, 194–195; Čabej 1941, 238; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 72; Schneeweiss 1961, 144–145; Brednich 1964; id. 1967; Vakarelski 1969, 234–235; Blum 1970, 100; Kuret 1972, 61. The name of *Parcae* i.e. *Fatus/Fata*, corresponding to the ancient Greek *moiras*, was preserved – as Brednich says (1964, 200) – under Italian influence in the Albanian name *Fatiia/Fatiqe*. The fairy names of the neo-Latin languages (e.g. the French *fée*) can also be traced back to the Roman *Fatus/Fata*, who represented fate. In the Latin-speaking territory, from the “alloy” of these beings with the Celtic-Roman Matronae cult and under the influence of the Roman nymph figure, different fairy beliefs developed which were very similar to the beliefs of the Balkan’s fairy-like fate women. Certain data from the early Middle Ages that speak about the dancing female troops of *Bonnes dames/dominae bonae mulieres* (who can be compared to the troops of the Greek and Roman fairy queen) led by Abundia or Satia also refer to such fate women later identified with the fairies (Nilsson 1916–19, 122–130). The figure of the Slavic “fate woman” can be traced back to the supposed Old Slavic birth/confinement goddess (an equivalent of the Russian *Rozhanitzza*) whose features mingled with Moira characteristics in the Balkans, according to Brednich (1964, 173).

¹²⁰ E.g. according to Lawson, these are also “good ladies”, very similar to the fairies (1910, 125); Saineanu (1899, 120) and Mușlea-Bîrlea (1970, 207) as well as Kligman (1981, 49) describe them as mythical beings identical with the *iele*. Further data of similar appearances and common characteristics are as follows: the Serbian fate women are beautiful, just like the *vile* (Brednich

1967, 177), the Croatian fate women stand round the cradle of the newborn as a fairy group of 7–9 (Margalits 1899a, 124). The Rumanian fate women often appear in fairy troops of 12 (Moldován 1897, 112; Brednich 1964, 167–171). The Bulgarian, Slovene, Albanian and Greek fate women, who appear among people to determine the fate of a child, often arrive from a heavenly “fairy other world” at the end of the world or on the top of a mountain (e.g.: Schmidt 1871, 211; Brednich 1964, 167, 179; Vakarelski 1969, 234–235). The Slovene fate women, the *vesnas*, also live in the fairy other world, in palaces built on high mountains, from where they direct man’s fate and determine the crop of the following year (Kelemina 1930, 96). The family-, tribe-, or nation-protecting role – that is interrelated with the *moiras*’ fate-determining role – is an old characteristic of the moira-fairy beliefs. This, according to Wissowa, is due to the fate goddess Nemesis/Fortuna’s integration into *Hekate/Diana* (Liungman 1937–38 II, 590); i.e. it is rooted in the similar features of *Artemis/Diana*. (In present-day Bulgaria there are several archeological remains from the 1st and the 2nd century Celtic-Roman era that all refer to Diana as the patron of a village or a tribe; Alexandrov, 1981.)

¹²¹ Lawson 1910, 127. A similar guardian-spirit role also developed in connection with the Celtic Matronae/Matrae cult (Liungman 1937–38 II, 592).

¹²² The fate-woman fairies suckle and bring up their patronized so that they will be as strong as the dragons. If the patronized do them a service, the fairies become their sisters: they contract a *probratinsvo* with them; the name of the fairy patron is *vila posestrina*. This “fairy sister” always helps her patronized; she cures him if he gets wounded in battle or she prophesies the time of his death (Strausz 1897, 95; Marinov 1914, 205; Ardalić 1917, 302, 304–305; Uhlisch 1955, 304; Lambertz 1958, 155–157; Brednich 1964, 163; Dömötör 1968, 345; Vakarelski 1969, 231; Kretzenbacher 1971, 24–25; Zečević 1981, 42). The beliefs in fairies who help in the household, who take care of the babies and who marry earthly men, bearing them children, presum-

ably have a *moira* origin; these beliefs obviously contradict the views that speak – in relation to its death aspect – about the fairy world's sharp separation from the human world. Data referring to these beliefs are: Krauss 1890, 35; Strausz 1897, 108, 131; Lawson 1910, 134; Marinov 1914, 203–204; Brednich 1964, 109, 204; Blum 1970, 112; Frankovics 1972–73, 239; Zečević 1981, 42. (On the similar characteristics of the Slovene-Austrian Saligen/Zalik Zene see: e.g. Alpenburg 1861, 264, 312; Graber 1914, 44, 58–59, 65; Mannhardt 1904–05 I, 106.)

¹²³ *Zmej/zmaj*: Marinov 1914, 207–208; Djordjević 1953, 248; Vakarelski 1969, 233; Dukova 1970, 235–236; Zečević 1981, 69, 149–151. *Vilva/vilva*: Schott 1971, 310; Zečević 1981, 66. *Ala*: *ibid.*, 62–67, 152–153.

¹²⁴ Further name variants are: Greek *stoicheto*, Bulgarian *stihija*, Macedonian *stafia/stahia*, Rumanian *stafia*, Aromanian *stihio* (Schmidt 1871, 182–185, 195–199; Abbot 1903, 249–250; Lawson 1910, 256–257, 280; Marinov 1914, 213; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1944, 229–236; Popinceanu 1964, 57–58; Blum 1970, 303–304). The *stoi-cheions* are usually the spirits of buildings, bridges and other cultural objects who come to life either during the building process, from the “shadows” of the builders that fall upon the walls, or they are the spirits of those ancestors who formerly lived in the house. According to the Greek data of Schmidt (1871, 183), such beliefs are often mixed with beliefs in the *nerheids* who live at wells or trees, or they mingle – according to some Bulgarian data (Marinov 1914, 213) with the figures of the water *samodivas*.

¹²⁵ Cf.: the “evil dead’s” souls become wolf demons or “shadows”.

¹²⁶ Cf. note 48, data on the “evil” dragons. The patron role is unknown only in the case of the Rumanian *zmeu* but, for example, the Serbian *ala* can be “good” as well: in certain parts of Serbia it “brings the good crop” (Zečević 1981, 66, 152), or the S Serbian *lamnja* is “evil” here, but otherwise – in Bulgaria – it is a “land-protecting dragon”. (Marinov 1914, 209; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 182; Schnee-weiss 1961, 12; Dukova 1970, 220–221; Georgieva 1983, 79–85.)

¹²⁷ Schmidt 1871, 189.

¹²⁸ Djordjević 1953, 198; Dukova 1970, 235; Zečević 1981, 149–151.

¹²⁹ Zečević 1981, 152–153. A similar “animal ancestor – shamanistic wizard” couple can be detected behind the obscure data – from the Croatian Turopolje area – referring to the *mogut*: the wizard *mogut* is connected with a dragon called *poznoj* (Bošković-Stulli 1960, 285); according to other data his father is an “evil spirit” – his mother gives birth to him after several years of pregnancy (Chloupek 1953, 241–250).

¹³⁰ Dukova 1970, 235–240. This may also have led to the snake figure of the *vile* or to the fact that the Bulgarian *zmej* also has a nice fairy-like male figure: this demonic being is – in many of his features – the male equivalent of the *vila* and the *samodiva* (*ibid.*, 235–236; Vakarelski 1969, 233; e.g. he carries away girls from the Easter round-dance and takes them in his golden coach to his other-worldly palace).

¹³¹ E.g. according to several Slovene data the *kombols*, *obilnjaks* and *brgants* of two different regions “fight with each other” in the event of lightning or thunderbolt, and the region whose *obilnjak* gains the victory will have an abundant crop (Kelemina 1930, 40–41).

¹³² Bosnyák 1980, 111 (Klészse, Moldavia).

¹³³ Schram 1970 II, 306 (Balkány, Szabolcs county).

¹³⁴ Hegyi 1937, 473 (Siklód, Udvarhely county).

¹³⁵ Berze Nagy 1940 III, 341; collected by Grynaeus (Dávod, Bács county); collected by Diószegi (Csitár, Nógrád county).

¹³⁶ Seres 1981, 192 (Háromszék county); Balassa 1963, 488 (Karcsa, Zemplén county).

¹³⁷ Gönczi 1914, 159 (Bánokszentgyörgy, Zala county); collected by Pócs (Nógrádsipek, Nógrád county).

¹³⁸ Kovács 1899, 42 (in 1728).

¹³⁹ Schram 1970 I, 255.

¹⁴⁰ Schram 1970 II, 484–485, 488 (Paks, Tolna county in 1741); *ibid.*, 352 (Kisvárd, Szabolcs county in 1737); *ibid.* I, 298–299 (Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád county in 1740).

¹⁴¹ Kálmány 1971, 348; Zentai 1972–73, 230.

¹⁴² E.g. successful churning at crossroads (MNT 9; Babót, Sopron county). "The herbs collected at crossroads were used for curing different illnesses." (MNT 9; Besenyőtelek, Heves county).

¹⁴³ Reizner 1900, 392 (witch trial in Szeged in 1728).

¹⁴⁴ Collected by Mitok (Matolcs, Szatmár county).

¹⁴⁵ Zentai 1983, 83.

¹⁴⁶ Loc. cit. Or: (The witches) "gathered at crossroads. They cooked yellow pulp with lentil that they poured all around. If somebody happened to step into it, he/she was bound to have furuncles." (Collected by Diószegi, Galgamácsa, Pest county.)

¹⁴⁷ Villányi 1892 (Esztrgom in 1700); Römer 1861, 178 (Lak and Szakállas in 1627); Schram 1970 I, 79, 252 (Konyár in 1716).

¹⁴⁸ Komáromy 1910, 635 (Telegd in 1756).

¹⁴⁹ Schram 1970 I, 61 (Margita, Bihar county in 1714).

¹⁵⁰ Reizner 1900, 510 (Szeged in 1737).

¹⁵¹ Obviously the exact place cannot be located: as far as it is possible to determine from my data, in S Slavic-Rumanian witch beliefs the two belief systems were mixed and contaminated with each other less than they were in Hungary, so it is possible that this type emerged in the Hungarian-speaking territory.

¹⁵² Schram 1982, 135 (in 1755). According to a 1741 testimony from Hódmezővásárhely, the "fairy witches", who turn into crows and travel in a sieve, pull a child out of the house with a string, through the window. Then they fasten him to a coach, they ride him and put fire in his mouth, etc. The witches of a trial held in Borsod county in 1709 call the victim out of the house, they receive him at their table, then they make him dance, torment him and, laying him on a sack, trail him along, then – at the first cock-crow – the dance having ended: "they hit him against the wall under the window", and saying the magic formula "Let me be where I want", they disappear. (Schram 1979 I, 298–299; *ibid.*, 151.) In the story told in a testimony

from a trial held in Konyár (Bihar county in 1716) together with the fairy appearance of three young women dancing to the music of pipes and drums, another woman from the village rushes into the house in the form of a pig; she spills the wine, sits on the vinegar cask and urinates into it. When the first cock-crow is heard, they all disappear (Schram 1970 I, 79). For further similar scenes, see witch trials held in 1717 in Balkány (Szabolcs county; Schram 1900 II, 305–306) and in 1742 in Barbac and in Ebergöc (Sopron county; *ibid.*, 170, 220–221).

¹⁵³ Rohde 1925 II, 412–413; Moszynski 1967, 651.

¹⁵⁴ At "death time" human beings cannot be born, those who are born in such periods all "belong there": This is parallel to the fact – owing to the dual system of space and time – that those who step in the "place" of fairies/the dead will be "carried away" as creatures belonging to them. According to this, those who are born between Christmas and Twelfth Night become *karakondzuli* or wolf demons (Lawson 1910, 209; Zečević 1981, 166–168). Those who are born at new moon, at Whitsuntide or on the days of the Quatember Lent – in general: at the time when the werewolf demons appear – become werewolves (Kelemina 1930, 88, 90, 92; Jakobson-Szeftel 1966, 349; Senn 1982, 206). Following a similar principle the unbaptized also become demons. On the basis of the ecclesiastic interpretation of baptism "Christian = human – not Christian/unbaptized = not human, dead", they are not "yet" human beings but quasi-dead creatures, similar to those in the liminal phase of transitory rites, in the state of symbolic death.

¹⁵⁵ Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 212–217; Lawson 1910, 134, 142, 150; Blum 1970, 113–116; Frankovics 1972–73, 241. Loosing one's way as a symbol of entering the other world: Pócs 1983, 183.

¹⁵⁶ Marienescu 1891, 3; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 62; Popinceanu 1964, 79; Blum 1970, 49–50, 54; Mikac 1934, 196; Margalits 1899a, 124; Djordjevic 1953, 242; Georgieva 1983, 85.

¹⁵⁷ Blum 1970, 51–53, 62–63, 305–306.

¹⁵⁹ According to Greek data, the "light shadowed" are exposed to being carried away by the "shadows/the unbaptized" to a larger extent. The Bulgarian *navi* make a sick person die by stealing his/her shadow. The shadow of such a person wanders all over the place; i.e. it leaves the body well before the person's death, and it takes 2–3 weeks for him/her to die. The dying person is considered as being "carried away by the navi" (Strausz 1897, 178).

¹⁶⁰ Marinov 1914, 206–207. Or: the Russian *rusalkas* during the week of Whitsun, when it is forbidden to sleep out-of-doors – sometimes take the souls of those who sleep on the ground, outdoors, to their own empire (Zečević 1981, 34).

¹⁶¹ Lawson 1910, 204, 208.

¹⁶² Marienescu 1891, 3.

¹⁶³ Zingerle 1891, 21–23; Graber 1914, 89–90. This motif runs through the whole work of Waschnitius (1913) in which he examines the Perchtas of different regions.

¹⁶⁴ They kill whoever happens to get in their way, take his/her body apart, then put it together. When the body is put together, a bone from the hand or from the leg is always missing; this they replace with a piece of wood. On waking the cut-up person is pale and weak (Laistner 1889 II, 83). According to another legend from Tyrol, anyone who gets in the way of the "Wild Berchta" (on Twelfth Night) falls into a trance, and when he is woken up he can foretell the next year's crop (Zingerle 1891, 26). Taking apart and putting the body together and the replacement of certain organs are well-known motifs in Slovene, Austrian and Italian witch legends (Matičetov, 1959).

¹⁶⁵ Oesterreich 1930, 336–337; Portefaix 1982, 203.

¹⁶⁶ Eliade 1974, 160.

¹⁶⁷ Salamon 1975, 109–110. This legend is also cited by Pop 1984, 232.

¹⁶⁸ Ivanišević 1905, 261; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1940, 212–217; Candrea 1944, 162; Uhlisch 1955, 30; Dömötör 1968, 341; Blum 1970, 113–115.

¹⁶⁹ Saineanu 1899, 204; Filakovač 1905, 145; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 212–217; Pop 1984, 23.

¹⁷⁰ Frankovics 1972–73, 246.

¹⁷¹ Lawson 1910, 134; Liungman 1937–38 II, 612; Uhlisch 1955, 304; Blum 1970, 114.

¹⁷² Nilsson 1957, 109–111. On the orphic Paradise see: Frank-Fritzie 1971, 87–89.

¹⁷³ Szabó 1975, 284.

¹⁷⁴ Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 211, 217; Dömötör 1968, 341–343.

¹⁷⁵ The Greek Dionysian/orphic notions of the happy other world also survived in the religious visions of Byzantium and of the Eastern Church (Lettenbauer 1951, 401). The basic schemes of "enchantment" by the saints, or the initiation into otherworldly knowledge are often very similar to initiation by fairies or to "joining the fairies", and – at least according to our Greek and Macedonian data – there may be a similarity between the practical role of the fairy magicians curing fairy illnesses and the "holy women" who obtain their knowledge through their "religious enchantment" (e.g. Obrebski 1977, 16). E.g. the saints who appear in the dream of a Greek "holy woman" call her to the church so that she will dedicate herself to them; from that time on, at night (in her dream, "in soul"), she visited the mountain of St Athanasios: "she was destined to become a saint". (Blum 1970, 48–51; similar data: *ibid.*, 62–63.)

¹⁷⁶ Salamon 1975, 126.

¹⁷⁷ Schram 1970 II, 20–21 (Lakompak, Sopron county).

¹⁷⁸ Fekete 1861, 165.

¹⁷⁹ Reizner 1900, 381.

¹⁸⁰ Klárafalva, Kisküküllő county (collected by Csergő). Or: According to a szépasszony legend from Háromszék, "the picked up and took a man beside the Arkos. Then they threw him into the ditch, where he was scratched by a wild cat." (Seres, 1981, 192.)

¹⁸¹ Collected by Bosnyák (Istensegits, Bukovina).

¹⁸² Salamon 1975, 100; Szűcs 1936, 154.

¹⁸³ Zemplén county (Balassa 1963, 249–250). According to a Moldavian legend on a similar subject, a young man who had been carried away to serve them as a piper was "injured so much that he could not leave his bed for two weeks. And when he met that woman again he asked, Why did you take me away? She answered, because

I wanted you and if next time you tell anybody that I have got you, I will tear you to pieces." (Bosnyak 1980, 67–68; Pokolpatak.)

¹⁸⁴ Manga 1968, 170.

¹⁸⁵ Schram 1970 I, 75 (Hencida, Bihar county in 1715).

¹⁸⁶ Lábnik (collected by Diószegi); Lábnik (Bosnyák 1980, 65). This may also contain reminiscences of a beautiful "fairy heaven", when the enchanted person, in the shape of a horse, is "carried through deep waters and high mountains, across big towns and under arches..." (Schram 1970 I, 279; witch trial in Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád county). Or: They were carrying another person in a cart for two weeks, "always among sedge, shrubbery and bushes..." The only thing that he remembers is that he "lived well". (Luby 1936, 21–22; Daróc, Szatmár county.)

¹⁸⁷ Bosnyák 1980, 65 (Lábnik, Moldavia); Balassa 1963, 307–308 (Karcza, Zemplén county).

¹⁸⁸ Schram 1970 II, 444.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. I, 239.

¹⁹⁰ E.g. *ibid.* I, 541–543 (witch trial held in Sümeg, Somogy county, 1737). A characteristic example of the "fairy pipe" made by eye-wash magic can be found in the testimony of a 30-year-old woman, Erzsébet Tóth: At night, after two witches lay on her, they pulled out some string from their ears and wrapped it round her fingers and toes. She had to move these strings; that was how she "piped" to them while they were dancing or swinging to and fro in the intervals of the dance. Here the "fairy piper" lost its original meaning to such a large extent that it became a woman! (Ibid. I, 279; Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád county).

¹⁹¹ E.g. in German witch legends: Weiser-Aall 1939–31, 1887; a similar motif in Croatian legends: Krauss 1908, 45–48. It is also known as the motif of South Slavic and Hungarian fairy legends (Dömötör 1968, 343).

¹⁹² Collected by Diószegi (Bősárkány, Sopron county). According to Manga, the herdsmen of the Alföld often speak about pipers who were carried in the air to wedding feasts where sweet bread turned into bones (1968, 171).

¹⁹³ Ibid., 170 (Nógrád county).

¹⁹⁴ Collected by Diószegi (Pokolpatak).

¹⁹⁵ Marienescu 1891, 7, 57.

¹⁹⁶ Vlachos 1971, 225.

¹⁹⁷ Marinov 1914, 206, 215; Strausz 1897, 326.

¹⁹⁸ Bošković-Stulli 1953, 75.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 337.

²⁰⁰ Ardalić 1917, 302–303 (Dalmatia).

²⁰¹ Margalits 1899b, 303 (Croatia). For further Croatian data see: Filakovac 1905, 144–145. Marinov cites from sermons of an abbot mentioning women who "go with the samodivas and the brodnicas" (1914, 215).

²⁰² Diószegi 1958, 77. It is cited by Klaniczay 1988, note 73. (A *táltos* is a mediator figure with shamanistic features. Some of his characteristics have been traced back to Ural-Altaic origin by certain scholars, who view him as the Hungarian shaman in the period preceding the Hungarians' settlement in Europe; cf. Róheim 1925, 7–40; Diószegi 1958.)

²⁰³ Blum 1965, 174. For another reference to the same wizard see: Blum 1970, 118. This reference also contains another interesting element: once, Mantheos could not cure the sick because his patient was made ill not by his own patron fairies but by the Turkish *nereids*. On the symbolic creation of the "other world" see: Pócs 1983, 194–196.

²⁰⁴ Hahn 1853, 159.

²⁰⁵ Strausz 1897, 125. Or: "They can recover from the illnesses caused by the iele if they go back to the same place the next year and they sit there all day long" (Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 216). On similar methods of treatment (e.g. going back to the same place where the mischief took place the next day or year, in the same hour) see: Marienescu 1891, 4; Strausz 1897, 126; Saineanu 1899, 80; Lawson 1910, 145–146; Kelemina 1930, 97; Liungman 1937–38 II, 611; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 216.

²⁰⁶ Schmidt 1871, 127–129; Moldován 1897, 160; Strausz 1897, 130; Saineanu 1899, 100, 207; Lawson 1910, 144–145; 150–151; Liungman 1937–38 II, 612; Blum 1970, 113; Schott 1971, 311; Zečević 1981, 44–45.

²⁰⁷ Lawson 1910, 169.

²⁰⁸ Saineanu 1899, 80, 207; Kligman 1981, 52.

²⁰⁹ Marienescu 1891, 6–10.

²¹⁰ Lawson 1910, 170. These sacrifices – besides the motifs referring to the death offerings – are very similar to those offered to *moira* fairies that are put beside the women in childbed (Abbot 1903, 125; Brednich 1964, 167–171, 174).

²¹¹ Marienescu 1891, 6–10.

²¹² In Thessalia, even mediaval data can be found that refer to Hekate's evoking by sacrifices offered at crossroads (Rohde 1925, 87).

²¹³ This assumption is supported by beliefs referring to similar methods of communication, and to the "initiation into witchcraft" (data speak about the "candidate" who, sitting in a circle drawn at a crossroad, obtains otherworldly knowledge; Pócs 1983, 194–201); another example is the Hungarian equivalent of the "fairy-evoking" method attributed to the Rumanian "learned musicians" (they "make their pipes dance" with the fairies evoked at crossroads; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 211; Pop 1984, 23), where it turns out that this "evoking" is the equivalent of the initiation: from this time on, the piper "went out" with the *szépaszonyos* at night (collected by Diószegi; Diószény, Moldavia).

²¹⁴ The most detailed description of the recent form of the *căluşari* based on data collected locally can be found in the excellent work of Kligman 1981. Further descriptions (also containing some archaic data that Kligman already could not find) are: Wolfram 1934, 118–127; Calverley 1946; Eliade 1974, 160–163. Descriptions of the *rusalia*: Riznić 1890; Strausz 1897, 316–320; Arnaudov 1917, 59–63; Kuppers 1959; Vakarelski 1969, 326–327; Bandić 1977. This was well-known mainly in the southern area of Oltenia and Muntenia in Rumania as well as in N Bulgaria and Macedonia. The *rusalia* known in the NE Serbian Duboka differs from its general form (this is performed by 3 men and 3 women). In Bulgaria the members of the *rusalia* are women or sometimes men wearing women's clothes.

²¹⁵ Kligman also mentions the *căluşar*, who was "called out" at night while dreaming: On the first night of

the preparation period someone heard fairies' music, which people are otherwise forbidden to hear: so – already as their initiated – he knew that he had to go: he woke up and joined the others (1981, 51–53). Kligman, when describing the initiation, and also in connection with the whole ritual process, considers the dualism of supernatural-human space and time as one of the organizing principles of the rite (ibid., 42–43, 107–118).

²¹⁶ Ibid., 28.

²¹⁷ According to the data of Kligman (ibid., 57) a certain connection is felt by themselves as well. E.g., they call their dance "falcondance" (= fairy name). Others identify the *căluşari* with the *sînzienne* fairies.

²¹⁸ Eliade 1974, 160–163. Kligman (1981, 59) also stresses the ambivalent connection of the *iele* and the horses.

²¹⁹ Eliade 1974, 160. According to Kligman the derivation from the word "horse" is rather uncertain (1981, 45).

²²⁰ *Căluşari* performed between New Year's Day and Twelfth Day: Macedonia, Transylvania, Bukovina (Kligman 1981, 58–59; Beza 1928, 50).

²²¹ On the *turka*: Liungman 1937–38 II, 829–836; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 315–333; Senn 1982, 206–207; Tallián 1983, 95–106; Róheim 1984, 218–220. On the *kukeri*: Wolfram 1934, 126; Liungman 1937–38 II, 768–803; Kligman 1981, 166; Róheim 1984, 218–220. Similar features of the *kukeri* and the *turka* – which, in part, are the characteristics of the *căluşari* as well: horse-, goat-, bull- and deer-masks, sticks used as phallic symbols, fertility fights between two villages, battles between nations (e.g. between the Turks and the Christians), "death and resurrection" plays. Lawson (1910, 223–227) considers the Greek masked rite performed in January, which represents the *kallikantzari*, practically identical with the *kukeri*, i.e. he stresses their common origin.

²²² Beza 1928, 50.

²²³ Senn 1982, 206–210.

²²⁴ Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 378–379. The name of the dance (among others): "the evils' dance". As certain expressions prove, the elements of enchantment were not missing from their dance either. Further common elements can be found in the Slovene-

Croatian *kraljice* or *ljelje* performed at Whitsun by the initiated members of a ritual company who vow silence and who are in relationship with the fairies appearing at that time. They play the rite armed with flags, sticks and swords. The role of the fairies is played by girls masked as men. (Kuret 1973; Kligman 1981, 58–62.) According to the Serbian material of Zečević, the *rusalia* and the *kraljice* rites were performed in order to hinder the *rusalkas*’ “harmful activities”; and the *kraljicas* “became identical with the *rusalkas*” (1981, 32).

²²⁵ The ritual fertility fights between two villages also appear in Karinthian *Perchtenlaufen* rites representing the *Perchtas*; similar rites are also known from Switzerland (Waschnitius 1913, 159–161; Hoffmann-Krayer 1946, 162–164). The “troops” have to visit each house, to bring good luck and a rich crop (on similar beliefs in the procession of companies representing the Slovene *Pehtra Baba* see: Kuret 1969, 236). The *Perchtenlaufen* may also contain ecstatic dances, imitating enchantment (Waschnitius 1913, 159–161).

²²⁶ According to Nilsson (1911, 673–676), the fights between the troops of two villages finally symbolize the fight between the winter and the summer and belong to the “winter-expelling” customs wide-spread in large parts of Europe. Liungman connects these customs with the spring-winter fight (that also express the notion of the killing and resurrection of Dionysos, the god of vegetation) and he traces them back to the Babylonian Marduk New Year (1937–38 II, 839–884).

²²⁷ It is possible that the Moldavian description of the Bandinus-codex (1646–50) refers to the ecstasy of fairy magicians and especially to the rites of the *rusalia* performed in symbolic other worlds and at appointed “fairy places”: “Since when the magicians want to foretell the future they occupy a certain place on the spot, where they are lying for 1–4 hours... muttering and moving convulsively their heads... At last, as if waking up from a dream, they tell their dreams like an oracle.” (Györfly 1925, 169.) This description was not related to Rumanian wizards:

Györfly considers “the methods of these magicians” as the heritage of *Cumanian* shamanism. Eliade agreed with the opinion of Györfly: he connected it even with Hungarian *táltos* beliefs but he found it rather unlikely that the above description could be related to the Rumanian wizards (1970, 187–189). However, in my opinion such a connection is feasible in the light of the above data.

²²⁸ Nilsson 1911, 673–674 (e.g. phallic dances of men wearing wooden masks and women’s clothes with women wearing men’s clothes).

²²⁹ Ibid., 679–683; Megas 1963, 125; Portefaix 1982, 203.

²³⁰ Nilsson 1957, 50–67. A detailed summary of the masked processions between Christmas and Twelfth Night and its ancient i.e. Hellenistic connection can be found in Puchner’s study (1977, 284–290) in which – besides the Greek data – he also deals with the material of the neighbouring territories.

²³¹ Marienescu 1891, 2–4; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 29.

²³² I use the expression “shamanistic” in relation with other-worldly soul journeys that are connected with battles and fights.

²³³ For data on *kresnik* see: Krauss 1908, 41–42; Kelemina 1910, 35–40; Mikac 1934, 195; Bošković-Stulli 1960, 278–290; Klaniczay 1984, 408; Róheim 1984, 191.

²³⁴ Marinov 1914, 208–209; Djordjević 1953, 248; Moszyński 1967, 654–655; Dukova 1970, 235; Zečević 1981, 149–151; Georgieva 1983, 79–85. The *zmej*, often born with a tail and little wings, is able to fall into a trance even in infancy when a storm is coming, and to send his soul – in the form of a snake or a lizard – up among the clouds to fight against the storm-demon dragons. His weapon is a tree trunk torn out, the struggle is accompanied with thunderbolts and lightning. Good weather and the copious crop of the community depend on the success of the battle. A similar being is the Albanian *drangue* that fights in groups against the *kulsedra* dragon (Stern 1903, 340–341; Hahn 1853, 163; Lambertz 1922, 102–104). However, we do not have any data referring to

his animal ancestors or any other patrons.

²³⁵ Jakobson-Szeftel 1966. On the similar role of birth from a snake or with a caul in connection with the capacity for shamanistic soul journeys see: *ibid.*, 348.

²³⁶ Bošković-Stulli 1960, 289.

²³⁷ In connection with the *vukodlak/kudlak* etc. ("werewolf") – often fighting in shamanistic battles against the *kresniks'* souls – Klaniczay found it possible that in the Slovene-Croatian territories a "positive" werewolf figure can also exist, who is similar to the prince of the Vseslav epos born with a caul and/or from a snake (1983, 119–122). We have already mentioned the twofold meaning of the *vukodlak*, *vedomec*, etc.: werewolf and a wolf/horse, etc. demon. The suppositional appearance of the werewolf as a positive wizard is supported by the beliefs referring to the positive features of the *vukodlak*, *virkolac*, *priculici*, *karakondzolos*, etc. and to their "initiation" (Unknown author, 1883; Abbot 1903, 74; Lawson 1910, 208; Kelemina 1910, 36; Mikac 1934, 197; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 228–243). In connection with Höfler's theory on the "Dämonische Männerbund" (1934, 14–145) we have to mention that the supposed pair of the werewolf demon and the wizard becoming active during the former's appearance is actually very close to the idea of the "dämonischer Verwandlungskult", the "extatischer Kult der maskierten Totendarsteller" (insofar as Höfler considers the living ones "joining" the procession of the *Guotishcer*, the *Wilde Jagd* and the *Selige Leute*, as well as the accused wizards of the Livland werewolf trial as initiated beings who get into the community of the *Männerbund* and temporarily became "spirits"; 1934, 63, 220, 245) if, instead of the conception of the "Arian Männerbund", we lay stress on the "other-worldly" initiation of the wizards, on their "real" other-worldly travels and fights, if we speak about the "real" animal figures of the other-worldly battles instead of the symbolic animal transformation implicated by wearing masks; briefly, if we emphasize the shamanistic abilities and practices of the wizards. This also concerns the question of witches' trans-

formation into animals as far as it is connected with the Mannerbund theory. It is not the masked Mannerbund-initiated transforming into animals/demons but the shamanistic wizards taking animal shape during their other-worldly journey who really served – besides others – as the basis for the assumption of the witches' capacity for magic transfiguration into animals.

²³⁸ On the subject of the fight of the *kresnik* against the "witches of the dog-headed" for the crop they brought to their caves, and against the *vidovinas* for the corn they stole and brought to another country see: Kelemina 1910, 35, 37. (At the werewolf trial of Livland the motif of stolen harvest also appears: the crop that the devil ploughed before its right time is brought to hell and the werewolf magicians retrieve it by their other-worldly fights: Höfler 1934, 345–351). St George and St Elias as dragon killers are patron saints who take care of the weather in their protected territory and bring rain if it is needed: Marinov 1914, 221; Haase 1939, 61–68, 80–81; Vakarinski 1969, 233; Dukova 1970, 239–241; Zečević 1981, 63–64.

²³⁹ Bošković-Stulli 1960, 276.

²⁴⁰ Hultkrantz (1967, 40) says that there is a peculiar fluctuation between the animal-formed guardian spirit of the shaman and the free soul that appears as an animal.

²⁴¹ I.e. those who were born in such periods, at "death time", have to "go there" (Unknown author 1883; Kelemina 1910, 88–92). Similar data are known in connection with the *kallikantzari* (Lawson 1910, 208). When a *vedomec* meets other *vedomeces* (this can be interpreted as the wizard's "calling"), the motif of dismemberment and recomposition appears as well (Kelemina *ibid.*, 93).

²⁴² Krauss 1908, 41, 43.

²⁴³ The Istrian *vilenjak* is "protected by the fairies", the Serbian *vilovnjak/vilenjak* "is in connection with the fairies" (Zečević 1981, 42); the Croatian *vedovnjaks* from the Drava basin regard the *vile* as their "sisters" (Frankovics 1972–73, 248). The seer from Drnisa – cited by Bošković-Stulli (1953, 337) – says of herself, "I am not with the devil, I work for the fairies."

²⁴⁴ Lambertz 1958, 97. In the Alba-

nian and Croatian heroic epic the *kresnik* fights against the alien clan as the hero of his tribe or clan, with the help of his moira-fairy guardian spirit. Another etymology of the word *kresnik* suggested by Bošković-Stulli is related to the words "cross"/"christening" (1960, 296–298).

²⁴⁵ Frankovics 1972–73, 247–248.

²⁴⁶ A similar, advising role of the moira fairies in agricultural activities is also known in other regions, e.g. in the Slovene-Austrian *Seligen/Zalik Žene* beliefs (Mannhardt 1904–05 I, 58–59, 105–107; Kelemina 1910, 96; Graber 1914, 51, 65; Brednich 1964, 181).

²⁴⁷ Djordjević 1953, 249.

²⁴⁸ Lea 1957 I, 186.

²⁴⁹ Marian 1899 II, 95; Candrea 1944, 148; Cristescu-Golopenția 1944, 124; Mușlea-Birlea 1970, 258; Pócs 1981, 191.

²⁵⁰ Candrea 1944, 160.

²⁵¹ Strausz 1897, 123; Frankovics 1972–73, 240.

²⁵² Blum 1970, 113–114.

²⁵³ E.g., according to the testimony of a trial held in Hódmezővásárhely in 1739, 3 witches at a feast held in the forest of Agya take out the bones of a person they have kidnapped and brought to their feast. They also punish him with the above triple curse (Schram 1970 I, 254–255). The motif of taking the bones out of the body once on the Gellért Hill, the second time on the Kömlőd Hill, appears at the 1741 witch trial in Tolna county: (ibid. II, 484–485, 488). A triple sentence is a recurring motif in the testimonies at Hungarian witch trials: three witches appear who discuss different ways of tormenting; at last it is the third one who decides, just as in the case of the *moiras* who appear at birth. E.g. at a witch trial held in Esztergom county in 1627 three moira witches come dancing a fairy dance: "they danced in his house; two of them wanted to hurt him but the third one did not allow it (Rómer 1861, 178; in Lak and Szakállas in 1627). Similar triple sentences: Schram 1970 II, 190, 345.

²⁵⁴ Besides the Croatian data published by Bošković-Stulli (1960, 288–289) and Klaniczay (1984, 410) rich material was collected by Djordjević about the wizards known in W Serbia

and E Croatia. This rich material shows the Serbian *zduhač* even at the beginning of this century as the wizard of a community acting in his original functions. The *zduhačes* born with a caul fall into a trance if storm or hail is coming, their souls rise up to the air where – after meeting the *zduhačes* of the neighbouring territories in league with them – they fight together, in military order, against the hostile *zduhačes* for good weather and for the good crop of their own tribes. Their troops, having military ranks and led by captains, usually fight against the neighbouring, alien *zduhačes* (e.g. against the *zduhačes* from Turkey, Albany, Montenegro, etc.). Their weapons are logs, torn-out tree trunks, branches, shavings, etc. Their vehicles are logs, benches, brooms and other household utensils. They also bring along buckets and bushels in which they collect the crop obtained from the enemy (Djordjević 1953, 237–250; Zečević 1981, 149–151).

²⁵⁵ Strausz 1897, 169; Schneeweiss 1961, 11; Blum 1970, 303–304; Dukova 1970, 235. Moszyński (1967, 653) and Schneeweiss (1961, 26) assume a possible derivation from the Albanian word denoting the wind and from the Serbo-Croatian word meaning "blowing".

²⁵⁶ All their activities are in connection with the wind. E.g., in the Serbian Kuce "the greatest *zduhač* fights take the form of whirlwinds and long-lasting storms that churn and raise the dust" (Djordjević 1953, 247).

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 238.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 242: "The *zduhač* has a translucent soul and he is able to see the future" – cf. those having "light shadows".

²⁵⁹ This kind of wizard is also known by other Eastern and S Slavic peoples, in the Baltic countries and by the Rumanians: such are the Polish, Ukrainian *planetnyk*, *chmurnik* ("cloud-man": Moszyński 1967, 651, Udziela 1898), the Croatian *grabanci-jaš* (Jagić 1877) and the Rumanian *șolomonar* (Gaster 1883). The data usually speak about the "ascension" of the wizard. E.g. the *planetnyk* "went down the valley where the fog was the thickest and together with it he was lifted up among the clouds". Considering

what has previously been said about "carrying away", this obviously means the carrying away of the soul that leaves the body. Other data can be interpreted as references to "carrying away" as a kind of initiation. E.g. "A boy... when he became twenty went out to the fields with others. Then it began to rain, a rainbow came down and took him up among the clouds to make him a "planetnyk" (Udziela *ibid.*, 591). Or – according to Litvanian data – on the day of St John, at 12 o'clock someone is carried away by the "wind-man", who takes him to his cave and teaches him everything about the wind. After his return he can "travel by the wind" whenever he wants to (Veckenstedt 1883 I, 204).

²⁶⁰ The animal-shaped guardian spirit/animal-shaped free soul of the shaman is in certain respects his alter ego that represents the life of his protege (Vajda 1959, 466). The role of the *zduhač* animals is to protect the herd; during the fights, in their sleep they neigh and bellow and sometimes they fight with the *zduhač* animals of the neighbouring herd. The *zduhač* animals can be cows, horses, rams, barrows or he-goats. (Djordjević 1953, 239, 244.)

²⁶¹ The wizard called *mogut* – whom we have already mentioned in connection with the dragon guardian spirit called *pozoj* – is such an "amalgamate" figure as well, i.e. the beliefs attached to him vary from place to place. They are partly wizards who go up in the air and send their souls to the storm demons to fight air battles with thunderbolts against the neighbouring *moguts*, partly with means similar to those of the *zduhačes*, and partly in animal/wild-boar, snake/-shape. (Chloupek 1953, 241–247.)

²⁶² During storms the wizard goes up in the air till he reaches the *kolo* of the fairies on the top of the mountains (Frankovics 1972–73, 249). The *zduhač* appears during the spring-storms or when a particular plant is flowering; "he lives on the mountain in the forms of fairies and devils" (Djordjević 1953, 237). Or: when there is a storm "you have to be cautious not to be caught by the *zduhač*, who brings you to his *kolo*" (*ibid.*, 243). According to some data from Hercegovina, those become

zduhačes "who trample on the dinner of the devil", which is obviously a "devilish" variation of stepping on the fairy places (as a kind of initiation). The devils give him power with which "he will be able to blow so strongly that he can throw down even the houses" (*ibid.*, 237; cf. the initiation by the Litvanian "wind man").

²⁶³ Chloupek 1953, 248.

²⁶⁴ Frankovics 1972–73, 250.

²⁶⁵ Kelemina 1910, 38.

²⁶⁶ Moszyński 1967, 654 (after Sanyayev, without detailed indication of the source).

²⁶⁷ Istvánovits 1982, 127–128.

²⁶⁸ In his publication on East-Georgian mountain tribes Istvánovits (*ibid.*, 126–127) refers to a similar divine, crop-protecting being who distributes the golden barley intended for people among the *istenfiak* ("the sons of the god"): it depends on his decision whether these *istenfiak* will bring an abundant crop for their protected community or whether they will have to obtain it by force.

²⁶⁹ Istvánovits 1982, 127–128.

²⁷⁰ Moszyński 1967, 654.

²⁷¹ See the data on crop-, milk- and hemp-stealing *strigoi*, e.g.: Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 248; Cristescu-Golopenţia 1944, 148, 152.

²⁷² Descriptions of *strigoi* fights: Marian 1899 III, 96; Cristescu-Golopenţia 1944, 124; Candrea 1940, 149; Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 251–255, 267; Eliade 1974, 158–159.

²⁷³ A hemp-breaker bench – apart from the battles – is a common vehicle of the *strigoi* (Muşlea-Bîrlea 1970, 250).

²⁷⁴ Eliade 1968, 319–321.

²⁷⁵ Nilsson 1911, 673–676. (Usener traces this legend back to a goat-masked rite; *ibid.*, 674.)

²⁷⁶ Only further study can decide what this exactly means: whether this is the meeting of Graeco-Roman werewolf traditions related to the returning dead, and to the animal-shaped demons of the Anthesteria – with the supposed Iranian and Caucasian traditions of the shamanistic wizard, i.e. this means a Thracian-Greek-Iranian connection, or whether – thinking of the presumed Bulgaro-Turkish elements of the Balkan werewolf/dragon

traditions – it means Turkish-Iranian connections.

²⁷⁷ On the question of witch fights see the studies of Klaniczay (1984, 1988). The crop-stealing features of the Hungarian witch are known mostly from the descriptions of the witch trials, giving accounts of witch companies who gather dew and crops and sell them in foreign countries. E.g. “that woman has taken away the wheat crop from the field, and unless it is brought back, there will be no harvest here.” (Schram 1970 I, 105; Diószeg, Bihar county in 1723.) E.g. according to the testimony at the 1728 trial held in Szeged, witches are able to bake bread even from green wheat, and they sell it in Turkey (Reizner 1900, 405). The S Slavic dragons and the “dog-headed” who steal the grapes and make new wine before its right time (reviving the wine miracles of Dionysos) also appear as Hungarian witches; e.g. on St George’s Day the witches bear the vinestocks and the wine they get from it is enough for three thousand of them (ibid., 387). The Slovene-Croatian witch also has some similar features. E.g. according to the data of a Slovene witch trial held in Styria in 1532, the *striga* gathers the crop in the form of a gander as she has promised to give it to the “evil spirit” by Whitsun (Pajek 1884, 20).

²⁷⁸ If such creatures exist at all: e.g. there are only very few data that refer to fairies or fairy characteristics “turned witch”. Such features of the Rumanian fairies were inherited – as far as I can see – not by the Rumanian but chiefly by the Hungarian witch (and *szépasszony*).

²⁷⁹ E.g.: “... her soul being taken away for two days and nights, her body lay as a log, but she never confessed who had taken her away and where she had been brought” (Alapi 1914, 13; Madocsa, Komárom county in 1721). Or, in another case: a little girl was “carried” by the witches, ...when she was taken away this way “she was just lying on the ground as if dead” (Schram 1970 I, 58–59; Margita, Bihar county in 1714). “... they made her fall asleep and then they took her away” (Schram 1982, 226; Sopron in 1746). “... ask her what she has seen in the other world, for she

knows, for a while she has not been staying in this world” (Schram 1970 I, 290–291; Hódmezővásárhely in 1750).

²⁸⁰ E.g.: “Those carried away by the witches who held feasts in Turkey, Mohács or on the Gellért Hill “had to creep through several narrow holes” (Schram ibid., 533; Csurgo, Somogy county in 1729) or: they had to creep through a “waxen grate” (ibid., 244–245; Szentes in 1734); they went up to the Gellért Hill “on a plank as narrow as half of her palm” (Schram 1970 II, 355; Kisvárd, Szabolcs county in 1737). Cf. the data mentioned in connection with “fairy heaven”.

²⁸¹ E.g. they cross the Danube in a nutshell (Schram 1970 I, 345; Hódmezővásárhely in 1758); even three hundred devils can find room in the millet husk in which they cross the Tisza (ibid., 105; Diószeg, Bihar county in 1723); the witches cross the river in bushels, sieves, etc. (ibid., 105, 298–299; Alapi 1914, 84; Reizner 1900, 415).

²⁸² An example of a witch who carries people away in the shape of a horse (and who is, perhaps, of fairy origin): “... he was going across the forest. But he could not come out of it... Suddenly a horse began to neigh. He got on the animal. As soon as he mounted it, the horse started off... it threw him down into a dog-rose bush. It took him three days to get home.” (Collected by Diószegi in Süttör, Sopron county.) Horses and other saddle animals carried away: at night, they carry the horse away and “God knows where they take it” (Bosnyák 1977, 83; Istensegits, Bukovina). The cat is carried away through the chimney by the *szépasszonys* (collected by Diószegi; Pusztina, Moldavia). The *szépasszonys* and the witches take the cow away in order to use it during their nightly travels (collected by Diószegi; Baskó, Abauj county). Riding the hemp-breaker bench or carrying people away on the hemp-breaker bench as an attribute of both the *szépasszony* and the witch is well-known in the eastern part of the language territory (Salamon 1975, 103; Bosnyák 1982, 85). A customary variation of the well-known belief of “transforming somebody into a horse” wide-spread in the whole Hungarian-speaking territory is: “on St George’s Day, she throws a

halter round the neck of a person who then turns into a horse. She rides on him, galloping up to the Gellért Hill, to the assembly of the witches (DM Liderc; Karácsond, Heves county).

²⁸³ Collected by Kálmány (Csongrad county); Alapi 1914, 17 (witch trial in Kamocsa, Komárom county in 1727).

²⁸⁴ Schram 1970 II, 306–309 (Balkány, Szabolcs county in 1717); collected by Dioszegi in Galgamácsa, Pest county.

²⁸⁵ The most detailed data concerning the drums can be found in the trial of Borbála Hisen (Szeged, in 1728; Reizner 1900, 404). From among the “officers” of the *călușari* it is the *vataf* who guards the flag staff or a part of it until the following year. Hungarian data referring to the guarding of the flag can be found e.g. in the witch trials held in Balkány (Szabolcs county in 1717; Schram 1970 II, 305–309) and in Mád (Zemplén county in 1715; Schram 1982, 298–300). Körner gives a detailed description of the military ranks of the Hungarian witch companies (1969, 195–208). He also finds connections between them and the military order at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries; of course, this does not exclude their connections with the ranks of ritual societies. The fact observed by Körner according to which “certain obscure data seem to refer to the custom that the “candidate” first had to learn for a certain time” (ibid., 205) may also refer to the *călușari*’s learning and preparing period preceding initiation.

²⁸⁶ Keresztúr, Sopron county in 1746 (Schram 1970 II, 228). Taking the oath at Easter: e.g. Borosjenő, Arad county in 1756 (Komáromy 1910, 579).

²⁸⁷ Szabolcs county in 1751 (Schram 1970 II, 402).

²⁸⁸ Megyaszó, Zemplén county in 1731 (Kazinczy 1885, 372); Szeged in 1724 (Reizner 1900, 366–367).

²⁸⁹ Dancing feasts held in several villages, towns or palaces are mentioned e.g. in the testimony at a witch trial held in Kisvárdá in 1735 (Szabolcs county; Schram 1970 II, 343–344). The witches – resembling the fairies who wander round the world during a single night – transform somebody into a horse with a halter, and riding on

him they visit the wine cellars of several countries during a single night (Salamon 1975, 93). The testimony that speaks about witches who visit the wine cellars in their swift six-in-hand also recalls the fairy travels (Schram 1970 I, 541–543; Sümeg, Somogy county in 1753). A witch company from Mád (Zemplén county) ride cows, pigs, dogs, just like the *strigois*, holding a golden flag, then, while they drink wine, one of them “shits into the cup” (Schram 1982, 298; in 1715). ²⁹⁰ In the Bulgarian *rusalia* the female members proceed from one village to the other, and meanwhile they dance round the churches three times. They also stop dancing at crossroads (Strausz 1897, 318). The witches make their processions or go round the churches counter-clockwise. This may originate from the practice of the fairy magicians and the *călușari*, who thus created symbolic fairy other worlds. The counter-clockwise circle drawn by the magician may refer to the “inverse other world” (Pócs 1983, 182).

²⁹¹ Schram 1970 II, 629; Becsvölgye in 1747. The other-world feasts of those “carried away” by the fairies and the processions and feasts of *călușari*-like societies are revived e.g. in the testimony at the witch trial held in Csorna (Sopron county in 1733): the witches “called” the witness to their company at the time of Lent before Easter; they proceeded with flags, drums and trumpets; then they settled down in front of somebody’s house; they ate and drank and had a bath; then a wind storm carried them away to another hill, etc. (Schram ibid., 96–97). We find a similar description in a witch trial in Nemetujvár (Vas county in 1679): someone who has been carried away on a white horse keeps going with the company for 3 years; the whole company flies over trees, mountains and valleys just like fairy groups do; where they settle, they amuse themselves with the music of pipes and drums (ibid., 725).

²⁹² Schram 1970 II, 343–344 (Kisvárdá, Szabolcs county in 1735); ibid. I, 399 (Tiszafüred, Heves county in 1729). Descriptions of similar companies proceeding with flags: (ibid. I, 79; Konyár, Bihar county in 1716) Schram 1982, 299 (Mád, Zemplén

county in 1715), Hódossy 1902, 222 (Tállya, Zemplén county in 1715); "they were divided into companies and each company had a black silk flag (Szirmay 1869, 81; Nagykároly, Szatmár county in 1745).

²⁹³ Hódossy loc. cit.

²⁹⁴ Cohn 1975, 216–220; Henningsen 1988.

²⁹⁵ Murray 1921, 240–246.

²⁹⁶ Cohn 1975, 110–115.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 108–118.

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